"Votes for Women," November 15, 1912.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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"LOOK THIS WAY"

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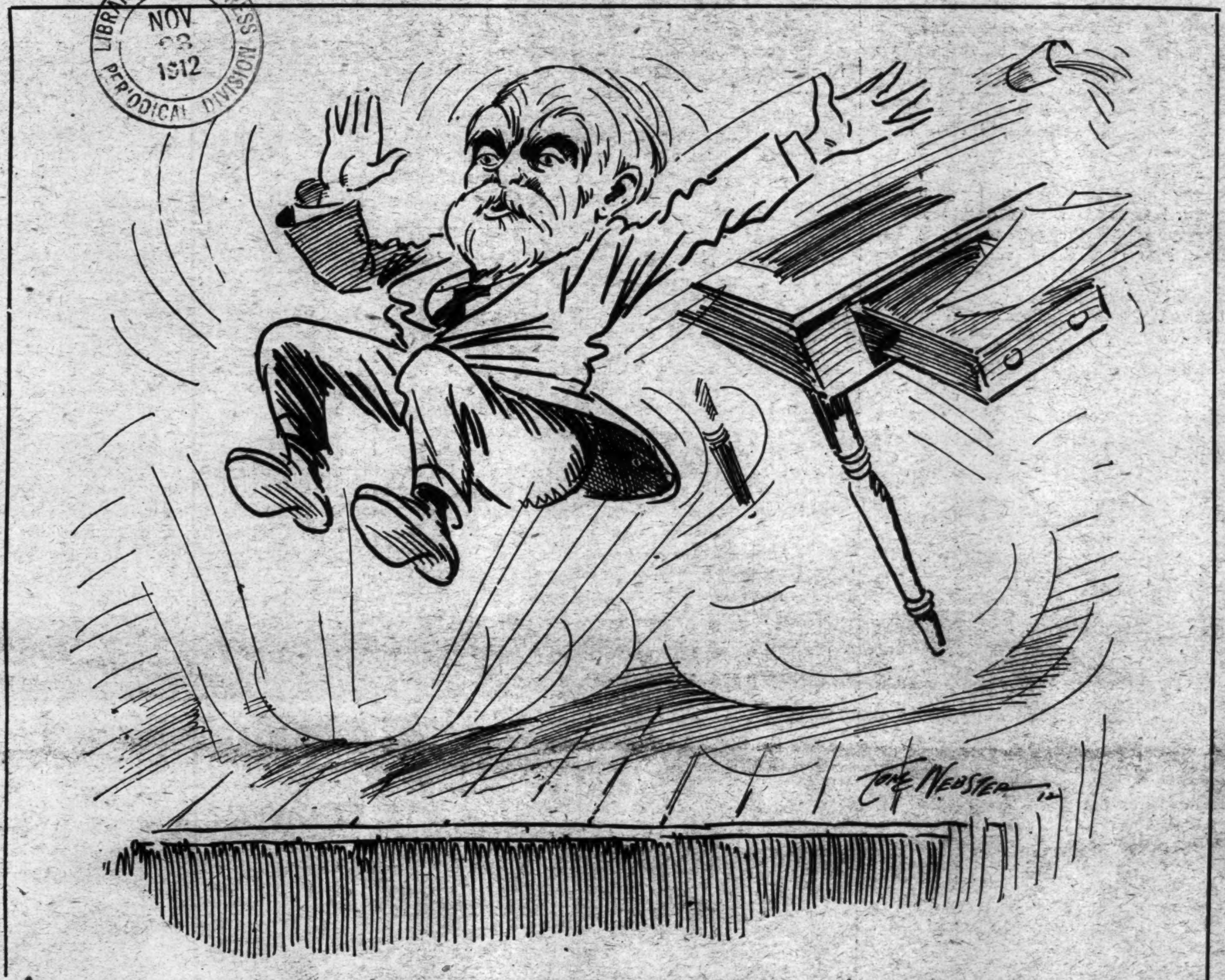

During the violent ejection of suffragettes at a Battersea meeting, Mr. John Burns strove to allay the uproar by calling attention to himself.

With acknowledgments to the Daily Citizen, *in which the above cartoon appeared on November 11.*

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The defeat of the Government on the Home Rule Bill on Monday last in a comparatively full House by 21 votes was a highly dramatic and totally unexpected occurrence. In spite of the decision of the Cabinet to continue in office, it cannot fail to have an important bearing upon the whole of the current political situation and upon the fortunes of Woman Suffrage in particular.

How it Happened

We dismiss as unlikely, in view of subsequent events, the suggestion that the defeat was the outcome of a collusive arrangement. Though it is almost an open secret that the Government are very uncomfortable both with regard to Woman Suffrage and Home Rule, and that they may ultimately decide to "ride for a fall" before the crises on these matters are reached, yet it is unlikely that they would take this course at so early a date. The true reason is to be found in the lack of enthusiasm which prevails in the Liberal Party both in the House of Commons and in the country. Liberal M.P.'s have been bluntly told that, like children, they must be seen and not heard. Their votes and not their speeches are the things which are required of them. And like children they are sometimes engaged in some play of their own when their presence is urgently requested by their elders. The country is sick of the illiberal practice of the so-called Liberal Party. The conspicuous failure of Liberals to remain true to their principles on the question of Woman Suffrage has made the most ardent advocates of Liberalism indifferent to the fate of the present Government. Under these circumstances a majority cannot be kept constantly in attendance, and a little adroitness on the part of the Opposition Whips has brought about the present crisis, and may very likely produce a repetition of it.

The Nature of the Remedy

If the defeat itself was amazing the method by which the Government have attempted to remedy it is surely more amazing still. With callous indifference to all precedent and to all the forms of the House they have simply moved to rescind the vote taken on Monday. No one can possibly suppose that a private Member in the House of Commons would have been allowed to introduce, still less to carry, any such proposal. When Mr. George Lansbury sought to introduce a Bill to give votes to women on equal terms with men, he was frankly told by the Speaker that it was not permissible because the Bill considerably resembled the Conciliation Bill which had already been defeated. Yet Mr. Asquith is permitted to take a step which is at direct variance with the rules of the House. From this we conclude that we shall shortly be confronted with a new maxim, "The Prime Minister can do no wrong," and that this will become part of the constitutional practice of the country.

The Effect on the Life of the Government

Though Liberal newspapers have insisted upon the trivial character of the incident, it is perfectly clear that the prestige of the Government has been very much weakened, and even Mr. John Redmond has been forced to admit that—

> It would be ridiculous to disguise the fact that the situation created is extremely serious. . . . If such incidents are repeated, the result would necessarily be disastrous.

The Government are like the chauffeur who has had his license endorsed and who realises that a repetition of the offence may cause the license to be taken away altogether. The event has therefore served to hasten the decline of the Government and to render it more unlikely even than it was before that they would stay out their complete term. To Woman Suffragists this result is very welcome, for without any illusions as to the Tory Party they realise that it cannot be worse than the Coalition, and that any change involving a reshuffling of the cards is bound to be for the better.

The Effect on the Parliamentary Time Table

One of the most important incidental effects of the crisis is its bearing upon the Parliamentary timetable. According to the previous plan the Home Rule Bill and a considerable part of the stages of the Welsh Bill were to have been disposed of before Christmas. The Franchise Bill and some minor Bills were to have been dealt with in January and sent up to the Lords. A clear month would then have been allowed (as required by the Parliament Bill) before the Session came to an end, and after a short interval the House of Commons would then have reassembled in the early days of March to start the Session of 1913 and to carry the necessary financial measures before the end of that month. So close had the dates been fixed that the loss of only three or four days necessitated by the present crisis has thrown the plan into confusion, and a complete readjustment seems to be required. All this will have an important bearing upon the question of the Franchise Bill, but it is too early as yet to predict precisely what this will be.

George Lansbury's Election

We congratulate Mr. George Lansbury on the magnificent stand which he has decided to take. Having made up his mind that inside the House of Commons it was his duty to oppose the Liberal Government by his vote on every possible occasion, because of their attitude on Woman Suffrage and other questions, he has realised that he ought to consult his constituents at once on this course of action. He is accordingly resigning his seat, and seeking re-election. We have therefore for the first time an active contest fought almost entirely on the Woman Suffrage issue, and we count upon every Woman Suffragist to do everything possible to secure for George Lansbury a tremendous majority. Particulars of the various forms of help which can be given will be found on page 100.

Suffragists and Cabinet Ministers

Cabinet Ministers, up and down the country, have been reminded during the week of their Liberal principles as applied to the voteless women of the country. Mr. John Burns, at the Battersea Town Hall last Friday, endeavoured in vain to open a chrysanthemum show while his supporters made his task impossible by ejecting with almost incredible violence every man and woman who attempted to recall the Votes for Women movement to his mind. Last Saturday, on his way to the University at Leeds, Mr. Walter Runciman was approached when in his motor-car by Woman Suffragists, and had to listen to vigorous criticism of the Government's "Reform" Bill. At Stafford, on Monday, Mr. Pease, while speaking on this very subject, was much heckled by men and women in the audience, who felt it an outrage that women should not be included by the Government in the Bill. They were ejected with considerable force. The courage that animates these brave Suffragists who attend Cabinet Ministers' meetings in this way and face every kind of insult and injury at the hands of Liberal stewards, commands the highest admiration and throws into strong relief the pusillanimity of the members of the Cabinet who permit, and even, as in Mr. Burns' case, encourage the brutality of their supporters.

The Case of Gladys Evans

Once more the dastardly attempt of the Government to re-imprison Gladys Evans has failed, the magistrate refusing to send her back to prison. We hope we have now heard the last of these prosecutions, and that Suffrage prisoners released at the point of death will be treated in future with the respect which is due to them as political opponents, and not with the petty spite which might be expected from a money-lender or a third-class buccaneer.

Wanted £800!

The Government are still requiring £800 from Mr. Pethick Lawrence, the balance of the costs of the prosecution over and above the amount secured by the recent sale of his furniture and effects at Holmwood. A fortnight has now elapsed, and they have taken no further step. Have they realised that such mean attempts at persecution have a damaging effect on their prestige, or are they planning some fresh attack?

The American Victories

We welcome with enthusiasm the splendid returns from the United States which have just come to hand. Referenda have been taken in five States upon the equal suffrage amendment, and the latest news is to the effect that in four of these—Michigan, Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon—it has been carried. This brings the number of the Woman Suffrage States up to ten in all, the other six being: California, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho. By the inclusion of Oregon the Pacific Coast is now solid for Suffrage, and the victories in Kansas and Michigan have carried the flag into the hitherto unconverted South and East. And Mrs. Humphry Ward tells us that the cause is going back in America!

The Divorce Commission Report

The Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce has been issued in a Blue Book, and contains many drastic recommendations for the reform of the marriage laws. A Minority Report rejects some of these, but both Majority and Minority Reports unite in advocating an equal moral code for men and women by proposing that the grounds of divorce shall be the same for both. The importance of this recommendation cannot be exaggerated. That it is a direct outcome of the battle fought by militant Suffragists for women's freedom cannot be doubted. Only since women have learnt through the militant movement to speak out on subjects, that used to be considered improper for them to mention, has their feeling on this subject become known, and the result is a change in public opinion that was not dreamt of six years ago. This change was equally manifest in the tone of the Press comments, which were practically unanimous in accepting the principle of sex equality as laid down in the Report.

This Week's Paper

Political events make this week's paper of unusual interest. On page 101 will be found a special biographical sketch of Mr. George Lansbury, together with his election address and particulars of the coming contest in the Bow and Bromley division; while our leading article deals with the fight he is making for women. Mr. James Cousins contributes an interesting Irish comment on the defeat of Mr. Snowden's amendment, and Mr. Laurence Housman's article, "The Right of Indictment," should make many indifferent people pause and face the present Suffrage situation. We also publish a vivid account of the strike of the hollow-ware women workers, from the pen of a special correspondent who visited the district on our behalf and has drawn a live picture of the struggle now going on there. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on this page of the progress of the "Votes for Women Fellowship," and Miss Mary Neal contributes an amusing sketch of "An Empire Builder" on page 99.

As we go to press we learn that the two Suffragists charged last week with window-breaking and remanded on bail, appeared again at Bow Street on Wednesday afternoon. Miss Ethel Slade was committed for trial to the London Sessions, and Miss Isabel Irving was again remanded until the following day.

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

The Votes for Women Fellowship is one of the many manifestations of the new reconstructive spirit at work in the world. It is an organised expression of two ideas that are bringing about fundamental changes in the social order. Its very name expresses the first idea—that of the complete equality and perfect comradeship of men and women, for a Fellowship implies the recognition that all the members of it are "fellows" in the fine old English sense of the word. In Webster's International Dictionary I find the following definition of the word "Fellowship": "Companionship of persons on equal and friendly terms"; "a company, especially a company of equals and friends"; and as a definition of "fellow": "An equal in power, rank, character";

> "It is impossible that ever Rome
> Should breed thy *fellow*."

In the word, therefore, is embodied the idea of equality and perfect comradeship.

The second idea expressed in this Fellowship is that of the new chivalry of men and women, which, like the old chivalry, is founded upon a conception of militancy as an essential and predominant part of the practice of virtue and honour. This ethical conception of militancy has not for many centuries had its rightful place in the moral code of men, and it has never yet been recognised at all in its moral application to women.

The duties of submission, acquiescence, resignation and obedience have been preached with such over-emphasis and exaggeration that conceptions of morality have become perverted and unreal. All the great wrongs in the world exist not so much by the malignity of the bad and the depraved, as by the apathy and slothful acquiescence of the good. Bad and malignant human beings are comparatively so few that they constitute a helpless minority, and would be powerless to bind their fetters on the poor and the helpless, but for the non-militant spirit of the great majority of well-intentioned people.

According to the high traditions of the ancient militant Christian chivalry, the supreme duty of manhood was to fight the oppressor on behalf of the oppressed, to challenge tyranny in high places, to dethrone cruelty and to right wrong, even at the price of wounds and death. In the view of those who belong to the Votes for Women Fellowship, to challenge tyranny, to dethrone cruelty, to right wrong, regardless of wounds and death, is the supreme duty of manhood and womanhood to-day. We do not value the smooth bright surface of the shield of our faith. We would have it dinted and battered in real conflict. Militancy is synonymous with virtue. The scars of the battle are the only distinctions of honour that we covet.

Our paper, Votes for Women, stands to the world for both these regenerating ideas—the human equality and unity of men and women; and the moral compulsion of militancy. The immediate practical work of the Fellowship in which all women and all men can take some part is to bring this comparatively new message to the masses of men and women imbued with the old prejudices and with devitalised ideas. A great response has been made to our call. We have now a goodly band of Paper Sellers, who are being organised from 4—7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. We also want them to mobilise in the constituency of Bow and Bromley, where that manly fighter, George Lansbury, is challenging very big forces in defence of the right.

There is room for all men and women of militant spirit in the Votes for Women Fellowship, whether they belong to any other society or not. There are no conditions of membership other than the desire to be linked in common purpose and in common service with the end of increasing the influence of our paper, keeping it well to the front, and building up the circulation, especially amongst men and women hitherto unawakened to the reality and significance of the two great ideas for which it stands. There is no subscription, for all will give of service, brains, time, or money, to the extent of their ability. All are asked when sending their names to indicate what kind of work they are prepared to do. Last week I enumerated the methods of service. Next week I have further suggestions to make.

Let the Fellowship grow till we count its members in every part of the world, and till the small seed has become a tree with innumerable leafage and blossom.

Rally of Paper Sellers Specially Needed Now

The organisation of the Paper Selling is in the very able hands of Mrs. MacLeod. All volunteers who have time to give during the next few days should come to see her at the Votes for Women Offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street. She will be in the offices on Thursday and Friday mornings from 11 to 1 o'clock, to hand out papers and to give information.

Ten or twelve volunteers are wanted to sell the paper on Saturday afternoon in Trafalgar Square at the meeting to welcome the Women Marchers, Volunteers to sell outside all large women's meetings during the week are urgently needed also.

In Bow and Bromley

A large Band of Sellers must be concentrated in Bow and Bromley during the next few days. A comfortable room has been secured as a rallying ground at a shop (F. Loveray), 162, Bow Road. Mrs. MacLeod and Mrs. Pantlin are now in attendance continuously, afternoon and evening, and will be hon. organisers of the Paper Selling Campaign in the constituency (see page 100). We call upon all our London readers to give as many days as possible to this work, and if not days, then half-days, or evenings. The by-election campaign will be short, and all the available forces must be put in the field.

We draw attention to the letters of Miss Mary Neal and others on page 109.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence

POSTER FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS
From November 7th-11th

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	23	8	7
'Leeds"	0	10	0
'Sympathising working women in Dorking"	0	10	0
Miss Turnbull	0	10	0
Mrs. Singer	0	10	0
Miss Eleanor Barnes	20	0	0
Miss Kathleen Corcoran	0	5	0
"A Suffrage Journalist"	4	0	0
Miss Floriel Florean	0	5	0
Instead of Autumn "Bulbs"	0	10	0
Miss Emma Adams	0	10	6
Miss D. Birks Ward	0	2	0
Miss A. Barwell	2	2	0
"C. J. F."	0	5	0
Mrs. D. M. C. Granville	0	6	6
Mrs. More Nisbett	0	5	0
Mrs. Saul Solomon	2	2	0
Miss Mary Neal	5	0	0
Dr. Katharine Chapman	3	3	0
Mrs. Allen	0	2	6
Total	64	7	1

PEOPLE WHO MATTER—AND SOME WHO DON'T

By Mary Neal

I.—An Empire Builder

The materials for building were not promising, and the foundation was more than a little shaky, but a merry heart goes half the way and staunch courage the rest. So very early in life she set to work to build, and like the fairy palace of tale and legend, her building to-day reaches to the sky.

Her childhood's home could not have been more unpromising. Everyone who was grown up drank and stole, and so spent half their time in gaol, and the children were ailing and crippled and tiresome, as children of such parents are likely to be. One of her earliest recollections is of a fateful evening when her father came in and ordered all the children to come out with him to be drowned. The obedient mother at once began to dress them, but he explained, "They don't want their 'ats on to be drowned!" Outside were three hansom cabs; he was going to do the job in style. (I nearly fell into a pun and said "handsomely.") She, the eldest, seems to have shown fine courage, which, as she told me, was a little strained at finding herself, not in a pool of water, but in a theatre without a hat, whither he escorted his whole family to see a Christmas pantomime. He does not seem to have been taken very seriously after that, and on subsequent occasions, when he appeared at home "the worse," she tells me she just gave him a push into the dust hole, and was quite impervious to his repeated laments, "leaving your pore ole father in the dust hole," which gradually got fainter and fainter as he fell into a drunken sleep.

She had a way with her in the workroom, too, and on one occasion, when the foreman used obscene language, she put on her hat and coat, and risking the horrors of no work, which meant no food and possibly no home, as her earnings were the mainstay of the family, she walked out. On the way she was met by the master, who inquired why she was going out. She told him, and he at once made inquiry into the matter, with the result that the foreman got a severe reprimand, and "didn't never say nothink out of the way to us girls again."

When it came to the serious matter of choosing a mate and beginning a life of her own, she took great precautions, and in view of her circumstances, very sensible ones.

He must be a teetotaler—that was essential—and he must have a good working temper. That was also an essential, for life was likely to have plenty of ups and downs. She had her own way of testing him, for it does not do to trust to one's estimate of a young man when one is in love and "walking out" to all sorts of jolly places. So one bitter cold and snowy night, she asked him to call for her; when he came, she sent her sister down to say she could not see him for a bit, but would he wait at the door. Then she watched him, and occasionally putting her head out of the window listened to "'ear if 'e was using language or anything." He came triumphantly out of the test, and the wedding bells rang merrily in the spring of the next year.

Then came trouble. He fell out of work, and it looked as if the little home, so carefully gathered together, would have to go. It was especially hard to let the clock go, for, wonderful to relate, it not only looked like marble, but was as light as cardboard when you lifted it. But she heard the call of the wider life of our Empire over the sea, and so the home was sold to pay the passage to Canada, and there was a little nest egg to start afresh given by friends who admired her character and knew that, given a chance, she would "make good," as the Americans say.

And she did make very good. Work came at once, and the home was rebuilt, on a sure foundation this time. And a child came too, and though the mother wrote to me saying it was so bitterly cold that she thought the only place for it when it came would be the oven, he has survived the rigours of the climate, and now, with a little sister too, they bid fair to be a credit to the Empire of which they are the future citizens. Our Empire is not built on words and high-sounding theories of social well being, nor is it built on the clash of swords or the talk of politicians: it is built on the bodies and souls of women, and its palaces reach to the sky.

IBSEN'S "BRAND" AT THE COURT THEATRE

"Brand" is an imaginative work on the grand scale; and one of the penalties it pays for the scope of its ambition is the difficulty of presenting it as a stage play. Such awkward contrasts and coincidences as mar even the short prose dramas of Ibsen are bound to become painfully conspicuous when, as with "Brand," compression is necessary before the work can be staged at all. The Play Actors at the Court Theatre on Sunday made a heroic, if not wholly successful, attempt to overcome the difficulties inherent in the task they had set themselves. Indeed, most of the technical awkwardnesses—for instance, the unconvincingness of the crowd in the fifth act—were more than compensated for by the sheer gain of having so ambitious and sincere a play performed. Though the faults of construction seemed sometimes so great as to affect the characterisation, on the whole it is only fair to think of "Brand" as a poem written round a theory, rather than as a drama written round a situation. Ibsen declared that he prided himself on the objectivity of this poem of his; but its theory is, if anything, too insistent; the art is merged in the message. And yet, strangely enough, it is not in the least clear what the message is intended to be. The hero is possessed by one flaming conviction—that God's demands must be met with *all or nothing*. The compromise in which the weakness of human nature takes refuge is mortal sin. In the effort to bring this home to an erring generation he loses his child, his wife, his happiness, and gains—what? That the pursuit of an ideal may be, even must be, terribly cruel in its effect on individuals, is clear to everyone who has read the New Testament; but surely an ideal should, if faithfully pursued with sacrifice, bring in some way and to some extent its own reward. To Brand, it scarcely seems to do so; and perhaps the greatest merit, certainly the greatest interest, in the play, is the contrast between his frightful iteration of "All or nothing" and the infinitely gentler yet braver, more tragic yet happier spirit in which Agnes, his wife, meets the demand for sacrifice. Her nature is simpler than his; her instinct would always be to deal gently with the weakness of others, whereas his is to torture himself with the denial of his own right to deal gently. The one undoubted moral that does emerge from "Brand," as from every serious treatment of such a theme, is this—that one's first business is to be very sure whether an ideal is worth serving, and one's second, that assurance being had, to give all one can give to the ideal. The pity and terror without which such a moral cannot be taught or learnt were brought home to the audience on Sunday night by some very remarkable acting. Of the minor characters, all were good, and some very good indeed—notably Miss Mignon Clifford as Gerd and Mr. Clifton Alderson as the Mayor. But the chief merit lies with Mr. H. A. Saintsbury, who supported the trying part of Brand with unfailing dignity and power, and with Miss Phyllis Relph, who, as Agnes, rendered the most tragic and pathetic scenes with the restrained intensity of the true artist, and thrilled her audience with the sense of sorrow and beauty. The play was naturally received with great enthusiasm.

G. G.

THE WOMEN'S MARCH

To-morrow (Saturday) the women marchers who left Edinburgh five weeks ago will arrive in London, and will hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square at 2.30. Their leader, Mrs. de Fonblanque, will proceed with one other woman to Downing Street in order to leave with the Prime Minister the petition for which signatures have been collected on the route. Militant Suffragists will, no doubt, join in the procession which is to escort into London the gallant marchers who have carried the flag in all weathers from Scotland into England. They will do this the more readily since the marchers' banner, originally bearing the olive branch of peace, has now, in view of the recent defeat of Mr. Snowden's Suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill, been changed to one showing a symbolic figure holding a flaming sword. Particulars of Saturday's procession and demonstration will be found on page 112.

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8 and 10, Boulevard Malesherbes, PARIS;
Basingstoke; and Appointed Agents in Provincial Towns.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY'S FIGHT FOR WOMEN

Special Election Fund Being Raised by "Votes for Women"

"Votes for Women" Office, 162, Bow Road, E.

> *I will not cease from mental strife,*
> *Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,*
> *Till we have built Jerusalem*
> *In England's green and pleasant land.*
> —William Blake.

Mr. George Lansbury has come out boldly on the Woman Suffrage question, and has decided to resign his seat with a view to fighting a by-election exclusively on this issue. He is doing this in order to secure his constituency's endorsement of his fighting policy of opposing the Government on every question that comes before the House until women are enfranchised.

Last Monday afternoon, speaking at the London Pavilion, Mr. Lansbury said:—

> I am this evening going to meet the people responsible for my candidature. If it is their judgment that it is the best course to adopt that I should make suffrage the beginning and ending of my Parliamentary fight, until women have got the vote, if they think I ought to go to my constituents and ask them to endorse that policy, then I am going to do it. (Loud cheers.) I have come to that decision because I believe that this fight for women's enfranchisement is the biggest fight socially that is going on in our country. (Loud cheers.)

The same evening, Mr. Lansbury met his executive, the Poplar Trades Council and Labour Representation Committee, who were responsible for his original nomination, and he announced to them his intention of applying for the Chiltern Hundreds on the following Thursday. Their answer took the form of what might be described as a strongly worded vote of confidence:—

> That this meeting of the Executive of the Poplar Trades Council and Labour Representation Committee hereby expresses its complete satisfaction with the conduct of Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., during the last eighteen months, and endorses his action in the House of Commons. We accept his resignation as Member for Bow and Bromley in order that he may submit himself for re-election so as to obtain the endorsement of his constituents of his actions and policy.

The Unionists have already a candidate in the field, in Mr. Reginald Blair. The Liberals did not contest the seat at the last election. It is reported that Mr. Holford Knight is prepared to stand against Mr. Lansbury as a Liberal Anti-Suffragist.

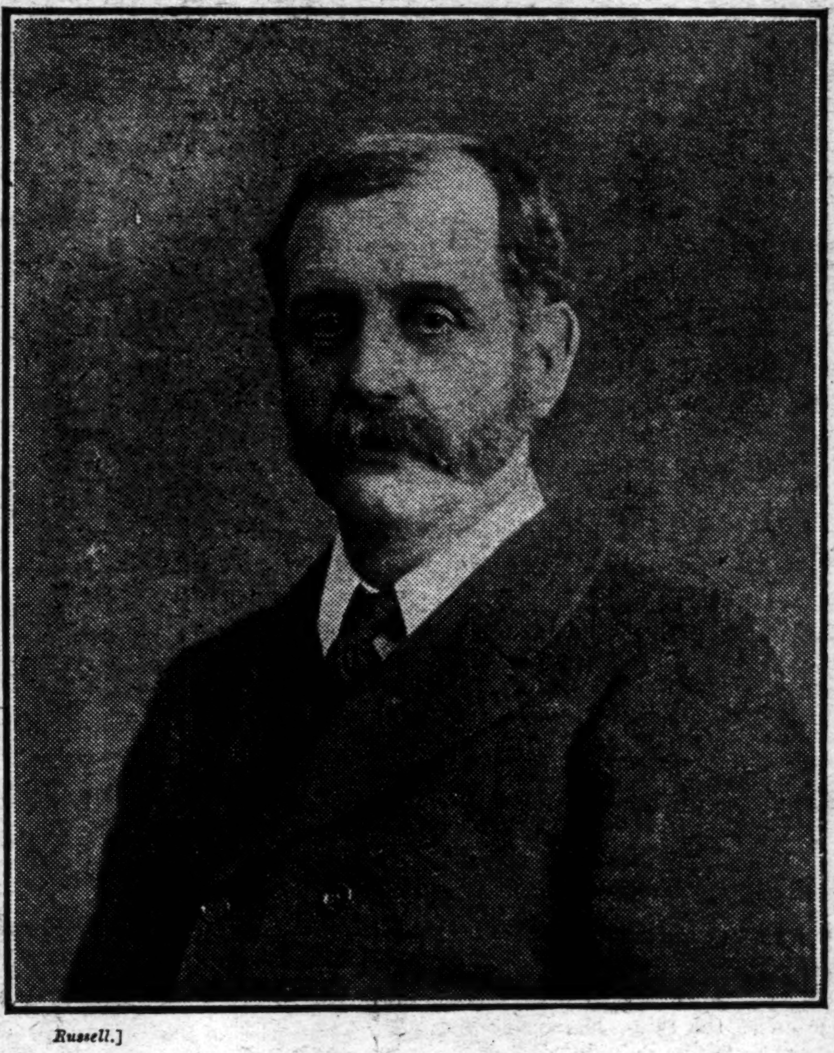
Figures at the Last Election

Mr. Lansbury	4,315
Mr. L. S. Amery...........	3,452
Labour majority ...	863

The Campaign

No time has been lost in preparing for the coming fight in the division of Bow and Bromley. According to the *Times*, the election should take place at the end of next week or the beginning of the one after; and already committee rooms have been opened by Mr. Lansbury at 6, Campbell Road, Bow, E. (Telephone 1575 East), where Mr. Banks is in charge. A canvass is to be made of the whole constituency, and special workers are to be told off to canvass out-voters We are told that there is universal appreciation of Mr. Lansbury's action in the constituency, which is a purely industrial one, and offers of help are pouring into the Committee Rooms.

Militant Suffragists are taking an active part in supporting Mr. Lansbury's candidature. The Votes for Women Fellowship will be represented by paper sellers; a room has been taken at Mr. F. Loveray's, 162, Bow Road, E. (opposite Bow Church), where Mrs. MacLeod and Mrs. Pantlin are in charge every day from 2.30 onwards. Will everyone prepared to help in selling Votes for Women during the election apply there for papers.



Russell.]

The W.S.P.U. are organising an extensive campaign from their two committee rooms at 198, Bow Road, E., and 153, Roman Road, E.

Workers of all kinds are urgently needed, and we have every confidence in making a strong appeal to all women who care for their enfranchisement to go down to the constituency and offer their services as speakers, paper sellers, canvassers, and so on.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" ELECTION FUND

One of the great difficulties of standing alone independently of party is the heavy financial burden which has to be borne by the individual candidate; and in the case of a contested election this burden amounts to several hundred pounds.

In the present instance it would obviously be altogether improper that Mr. Lansbury should be made to suffer pecuniarily for the gallant fight which he is making on behalf of women. The Editors of Votes for Women have therefore decided to give to their readers an opportunity of contributing to the election expenses, and are opening a special fund for this purpose.

Contributions should be sent to F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., Votes for Women, 4—7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., and should be specially marked "Lansbury Election Fund." As the contest will be a short one, contributions should be sent in with as little delay as possible.

The following amounts have already been promised:—

	£	s.	d.
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	10	10	0
Mrs. D. A. Thomas	10	10	0
Mr. Reginald Pott	10	0	0
Dr. L. Garrett Anderson	5	5	0
Miss Mordan	5	5	0
Mrs. James Ivory	5	0	0
Miss S. A. Turle	5	0	0
E. S.	1	1	0
Total	£52	11	0

MR. LANSBURY'S ELECTION ADDRESS

To the electors of Bow and Bromley.

Fellow Electors,—Two years ago you did me the great honour to elect me as your Member in the House of Commons. During that time I have consistently striven to carry out the promises I made to you before election. In season and out of season I have kept steadily in front the social condition of the people I represent. Last year I opposed with all my strength the National Insurance Act, an Act of Parliament for which both Liberals and Tories are responsible. Only twenty-seven members in the House of Commons voted with me when I moved its rejection on the Third Reading. The action I took in regard to this Act was in distinct opposition to the bulk of my colleagues of the Labour Party. The result, as you all know, is this: that very poor women and very poor men in East London are called upon to pay a weekly poll tax out of most miserable wages, which really means that this tax is a real tax on the necessities of life for the poor. I have never ceased to regret that the Labour Party as a whole supported this Bill. They acted with quite good faith, but I consider that the result, especially to the casual worker and to women, has proved quite disastrous.

This year I find myself again in complete disagreement with my party on a question which to me is of fundamental importance, namely, the enfranchisement of women. The Government have introduced a Bill for establishing Manhood Suffrage, and are professing to leave to the judgment of the House the large and important question whether women are to be included or not. The Labour Party have decided that they will accept this position. I think this will prove as disastrous to the cause of freedom so far as poor women are concerned as did their support of the Insurance Act. It is well known that both the Prime Minister and other Members of the Government are determined opponents of Woman Suffrage. It is also well known that only this year on the Conciliation Bill, which would have given votes to only a few women, Liberals and Irish Members who were avowed supporters of the Women's cause went either into the Lobby against this Bill, or abstained from voting, although no Government Whips were put on against it. The reason given for this gross betrayal of their principles was that if this Bill had been carried, certain Ministers would resign and Home Rule would be endangered. We have no guarantee; in fact, all the evidence obtainable goes to prove that this same thing will happen again. It is argued that we might, if our amendments are defeated, vote against the Third Reading of the Bill, but everyone knows that this would leave things just as they are. Now, my position is simply this: the only effective method by which we can prevent the women of this country being left out of the next Franchise Bill is for a sufficient number of men in the House of Commons, who believe the question to be one of vital importance, to inform the Government that they will not continue their support of other measures unless this reform is absolutely secured and passed into law as a Government measure.

I want to be perfectly frank with my constituents on this matter. It is pointed out that by doing so we should endanger the passage of Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment. This need not be, and, in my opinion, would not be if the four hundred men now in the House of Commons who pledged themselves at the last election to vote for Woman Suffrage were to inform the Government of their intention to stand steadfastly by their principle. But so low has the House of Commons sunk that principle counts for nothing, and the resignation of my seat and the handing back to you the trust which you gave me two years ago is in order that you may pass judgment first of all on my conduct in the past, and secondly on my proposed attitude and policy for the future. If you do me the honour, as I have no doubt you will, to re-elect me, you may accept my word quite without reservation that in all questions affecting the lives of the poor, the social conditions of the people, I shall be found fighting as strenuously as one man is able on their behalf. Every question that really affects the well-being of Labour so far as women and men are concerned, will find me right in the front rank fighting for the side that needs assistance. But I want specially that you will join me in a supreme effort to raise the question of Womanhood to the very highest position. The women of our country live hard, laborious lives. Down here, where I have lived almost all my years, I have grown to understand in some small way what poverty and destitution mean to the women. We men have wanted to use our votes to improve our social conditions. I want that our mothers, our wives and our sisters shall be allowed to join us in the fight. At this moment Parliament is discussing the White Slave Traffic Bill. What a hideous mockery it is to Christian England that in this year of grace we should be discussing a Bill which recognises that some women are slaves, slaves to the most hideous and vile traffic in humanity possible to conceive! This condition of affairs has come about because we have been careless as to the value of our girls and our women.

This fight for the vote is only a part, but an important part in the great struggle now going on for the emancipation of humanity all over the world. A nation that is to be great and free must of necessity insist that its mothers shall at least have the chance of free and just conditions of life. Twenty years ago we in Bow and Bromley led the fight for women representatives on the County Council. Twenty-four years ago the Liberal Association of Bow and Bromley declared for Adult Suffrage, votes for all men and all women on equal terms. I stand for that principle to-day. I not merely stand for it, though I want to fight for it also. I want to go back to St. Stephen's with a mandate from the men of Bow and Bromley that we in this constituency put this question of Votes for Women in the very foremost rank of social reform, and that in the House of Commons it shall be my duty to work with whomsoever will work with me by every means in our power to bring about the enfranchisement of women.

The issue of the election lies with you. Some will tell you that I have acted stupidly, others will give other reasons for my action. I ask you to believe that I am actuated by one purpose only, and that is that if I am your representative, I want to faithfully represent your views, and that I believe that the policy which I urge you to support is the only policy in these days worth fighting for. Many men will come to you and talk of party and party principles, but believe me, we have been caucus ridden and party driven too long. The House of Commons is dragooned and controlled by a small handful of men. To vote according to one's conscience is to be untrue to party, and in coming before you I want you to send me to the House of Commons to fight for those principles which you have supported, irrespective of the convenience either of Governments or party. If you agree with me, come and help me in what will be one of the historic fights of our time, and which, when we have won it, as win it we shall, will give each of us the satisfaction of knowing that we at least have done our part toward raising and ennobling the Womanhood and Motherhood in our land.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

Biographical Notice

George Lansbury was born at Haleworth, Suffolk, on February 21, 1859. His father came from Oxford, and his mother was a native of Radnorshire. After passing through the public day schools, Mr. Lansbury worked in various offices until he went to Australia in 1884. He came back in the following year, and entered the timber business of his father at Poplar, which he still carries on. Mr. Lansbury married Miss Brine, and has a family of three sons and six daughters.

To readers of Votes for Women Mr. Lansbury's career as a politician and a social reformer will naturally be of foremost interest. He has been in active political life for thirty years, having begun by joining the Liberal party, during which period he was Honorary Secretary of the Bow and Bromley Liberal and Radical Association. In 1892 he became a Socialist, and is now a member both of the Christian Social Union and the Independent Labour Party. His experience of life in the East End naturally led him very early into the path of social reform; he was first elected Poor Law Guardian in 1891, and Borough Councillor in 1903. Those who know Mr. Lansbury's intense desire to improve the conditions under which the poor have to live, will not be surprised to hear that he sat on the Royal Commission on Poor Law, and signed the Minority Report; he also founded the first public Labour Colony at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, and was chairman of the Committee that established the first Poor Law Colony at Laindon, Essex. Mr. Lansbury contested the Parliamentary division of Walworth twice as a Social Democrat, also Bow and Bromley in 1900, and Middlesbrough in 1906. In 1910, as our readers will remember, he was elected for Bow and Bromley.

Mr. Lansbury's connection with the Woman Suffrage movement is almost too well known to need any comment of ours. From the moment of his election to Parliament he has fought a good fight for women within the House of Commons, never backward in denouncing the Government, when occasion arose, for their treatment of the question and their persecution of the militant Suffragists. Everyone will remember his magnificent protest in the House on June 25 last, when Mr. Asquith's callous attitude towards the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners roused his just anger, and led to a spontaneous outburst of indignation that caused his temporary suspension. Outside the House, too, Mr. Lansbury has thrown the full weight of his influence in the Suffrage balance, never refusing to speak on any platform in its support, and bringing the question before his constituents at every available opportunity. His subsequent action in deciding to seek re-election on the question came as no surprise to anyone who has followed his career.

Mr. Lansbury's Meetings

Mr. Frank Smith (Telephone, 1575 East) is organizing meetings on behalf of Mr. Lansbury from 6, Campbell Road, and intends to arrange two or three indoor meetings nightly, as well as two or three at street corners. Besides Mr. George Lansbury himself, the speakers will include Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (next Tuesday at 8 p.m.), and Mr. Pethick Lawrence (at St. Mark's Hall, Victoria Park) next Monday at 8 p.m. The following evening indoor meetings, at 8 p.m., have already been arranged:—

Friday, November 15.—Bow Baths (large hall), Old Palace L.C.C. Schools.
Saturday, November 16.—Knapp Road L.C.C. Schools, St. Leonard Street.
Monday, November 18.—St. Mark's Hall, Victoria Park.
Tuesday, November 19.—Zetland Street School, Bromley, E.
Wednesday, November 20.—St. Matthew's Hall, Alanmouth Street, N. Bow. St. Gabrielle's, Morris Road, Bromley.
Thursday, November 21.—Bow Baths Hall, Roman Road, Bow.
Friday, November 22.—Zetland Street School, Bromley, Knapp Road L.C.C. Schools.
Saturday, November 23.—Bow Baths Hall.
Sunday, November 24.—Bow Baths (large hall) (meeting conducted by I.L.P.).

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RESIGNATION OF MR. LANSBURY

Frankly, we cannot see that he could have done otherwise. . . . The Labour Party, of all parties, should have fought for the women. Why, as far back as the Belfast Labour Conference Keir Hardie, almost in wrathful tears, threatened to abandon "his own child"—the Labour Party—if it did not support the women's cause. "Where is that Party now?" Truculently repudiating the women, sneering and gibing at those who have suffered more for their cause in one day than all the Labour leaders put together have suffered in a lifetime. . . . Lansbury is quite right. He had to get out. Party loyalty is all right up to its proper limit. This was a matter of conscience. . . . Bow and Bromley has an enviable opportunity, and judging from the enthusiasm already aroused, it will make no mistake. Lansbury will be triumphant. — **Dail Herald**

MR. JOHN BURNS AT BATTERSEA

Last Friday Mr. John Burns opened a chrysanthemum show at the Battersea Town Hall, and learned, before he had been on his feet a minute, that one woman at least thought he had no right to come there talking about chrysanthemums while women went voteless. For her courageous reminder she was instantly surrounded and attacked by Liberal stewards, a man apparently trying the while to defend her against the attempts to eject her. There were cries of "Coward!" and stifled exclamations of "Votes for Women!" and "Salary out of the pocket of the taxpayer!" Then the swing-doors parted, and peace reigned for a moment.

Mr. Burns again attempted to change the conversation to chrysanthemums, but a woman called out, "Mr. Burns, you ought to be in Parliament attending to your business and giving women the vote." Again there was turmoil, and while the woman was being dragged to one door a man was fighting with a number of stewards, who tried to drag him out by another. The hall was now in a turmoil, the greater part of the noise being made by the ejectors, who used much violence, encouraged in this by the President of the Local Government Board, who was by this time in a state of considerable excitement. With many gestures he perambulated up and down the platform, calling upon the stewards on the one hand to "Put her out! Have him out!" and to the rest of the audience, in piteous tones, to "Look at me! Turn this way!" But his efforts were of no use. Part of the audience—a considerable part—insisted on talking of "Votes for Women," the rest insisted on arguing the point, chiefly with their fists. Nobody wanted to hear about chrysanthemums, or to bestow one glance upon the speaker on the platform.

For twenty minutes the uproar continued. Men and women were alike ejected for reminding a Cabinet Minister of his own Liberal principles, ejected with such brutality that but for the intervention of the police many would have been more hurt than they were. Peace—without honour—was only restored when everyone who disagreed with Mr. Burns had been ejected by his noble supporters. Then, having discoursed on the gentle manners and womanly proclivities of the chrysanthemum, the President of the Local Government Board went home under a strong guard of police.

* * *

From one of those Ejected

Battersea Town Hall has before now been associated with Mr. John Burns and the ill-treatment of Suffragists. Last Friday's opening of a Chrysanthemum Show by the President of the Board of Trade was no exception to the rule. No sooner had that gentleman risen up to speak than he was requested to sit down and remain silent while women remain voteless. From the beginning the interrupters were turned out with the utmost violence, one steward in particular reminding one forcibly of a dog worrying a rat. No opportunity was given to the women to walk out after their protest was made; and the supporters of Mr. Burns seemed to feel it their duty to help to disturb the meeting, their own noise and violence far exceeding anything the women could accomplish. For about fifteen minutes Mr. Burns could barely make a start; then for a few moments he was able to proceed, until, during a pause in his remarks, a clear, loud voice was heard saying, "You seem to forget, Mr. Burns, you were once in prison for what you considered the cause of liberty." The woman was violently seized, but on protesting her desire to walk, she was allowed to do so as far as the passage outside the hall, more on account of the chrysanthemums amongst which she had taken refuge than from any consideration for the woman. Once in the passage she was subjected to the usual violence and ill-treatment one expects in the company of Mr. Burns, and was finally thrown down the steps into the road. This apparently was the last person to be ejected, and Mr. Burns continued to speak—not on chrysanthemums, however, but on what had occurred. "For beauty consists not only in growing flowers, but in beauty of conduct and gentleness of manner," concluded the President of the Board of Trade. Exactly; but the beauty was not in evidence with Mr. Burns or with his stewards and supporters.

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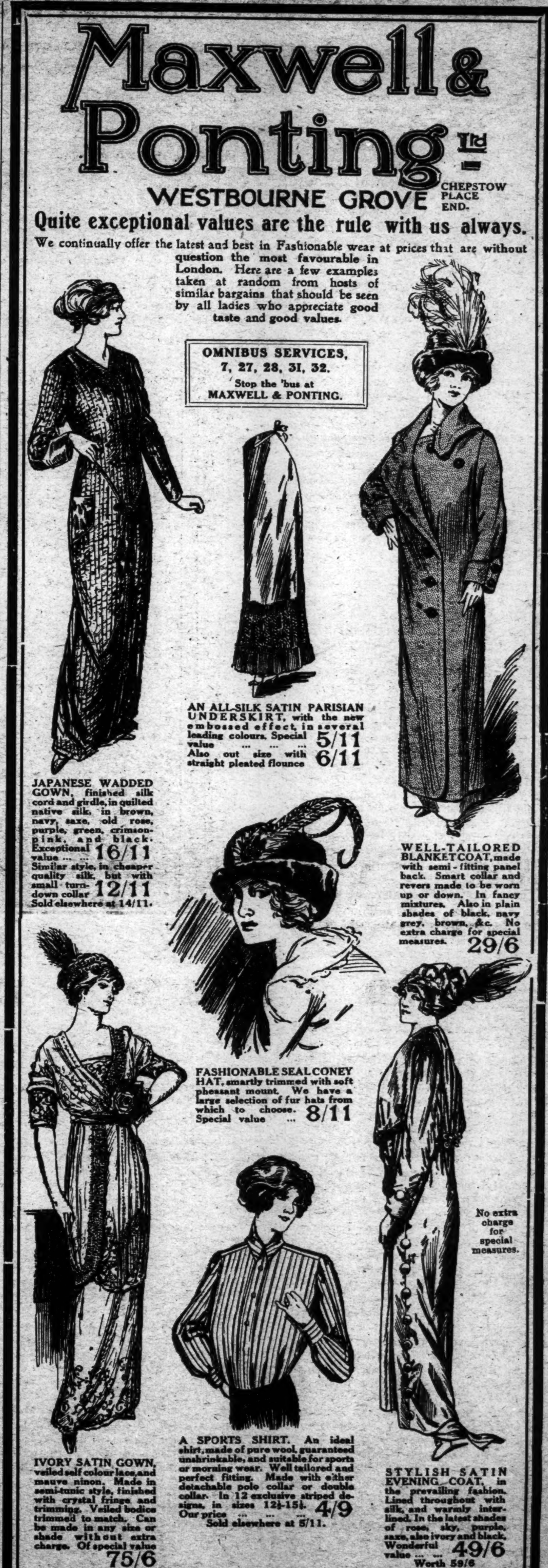
OTHER CABINET MINISTERS

Mr. Walter Runciman, the Minister for Agriculture, was encountered by Suffragists while on his way to the University at Leeds last Saturday. Some conversation followed, in the course of which Mr. Runciman was asked why he was opposed to votes for women, and some discs bearing these words were thrown into his motor-car.

Mr. Pease, President of the Board of Education, when speaking at Stafford last Monday, was heckled repeatedly by Suffragists, many of whom were ejected from the meeting with force. His subject was the Government's Manhood Suffrage Bill.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FASHIONABLE SEAL CONEY HAT, smartly trimmed with soft pheasant mount. We have a large selection of fur hats from which to choose. Special value ... 8/11

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IVORY SATIN GOWN, veiled self colour lace, and mauve ninon. Made in semi-tunic style, finished with crystal fringe and trimming. Veiled bodice trimmed to match. Can be made in any size or shade without extra charge. Of special value 75/6

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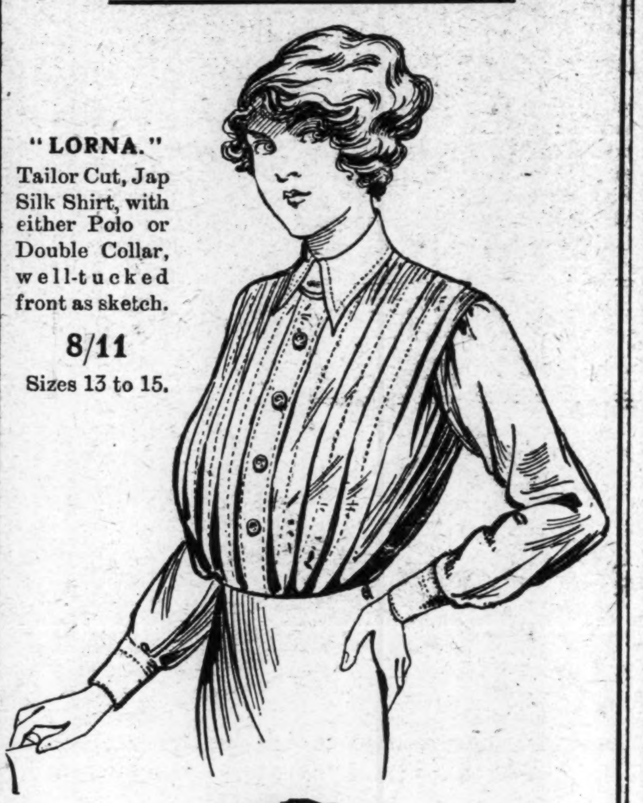

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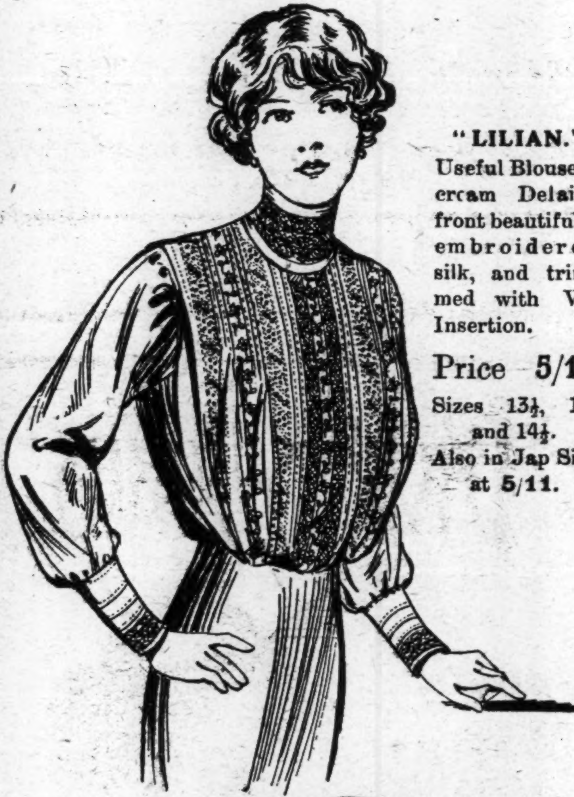

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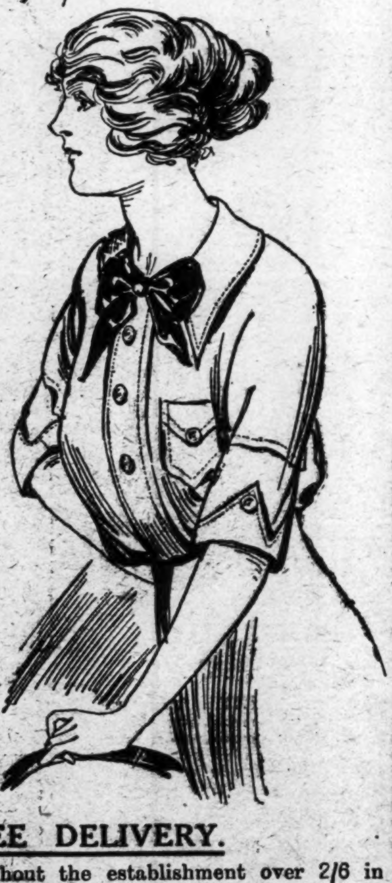

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NEW BOOKS

A Man's World

To many women to-day there comes a moment when the horrors of the nether-world take so firm a grip on the imagination that a life of ease and pleasure becomes impossible; the soul refuses to be lulled, and henceforward there is only one path—that of strife Militant suffragists know that moment perhaps better than most women; and they will discover in "A Man's World" (Macmillan, 6s.) many points of contact with Mr. Albert Edwards, the author.

Arnold Whitman, the subject of this quasi-autobiographical study, is a social worker not by choice, but by the force of that compelling sense of personal responsibility that has led hundreds of women in these early years of the twentieth century to do defiant deeds. To him, as to them, that illuminating moment comes:—

> It was that night that I realised that I also *must*. I had seen so much I could never forget. It was something from which there was no escape. No matter how glorious the open fields, there would always be the remembered stink of the tenements in my nostrils. . . . A crowd of hurrying ghosts—the ghosts of the slaughtered babies—would follow me everywhere, crying, "Coward!" if I ran away. The slums had taken me captive.

The world he describes is a man's world mainly because seen through the eyes of a man. Brought up in one of the strictest New England religious sects, he has the scales torn from his spiritual vision when, in one terrible moment, he realises that those in whom he believed are, after all, very human indeed. He tries to shut out the problems of life by plunging into the study of dead languages, but there comes a sudden rough awakening in the threat of blindness. He is forced to the active life, and circumstances lead to work in the slums, and finally among the prisoners in "The Tombs" as a probation officer. And this part of the story, notwithstanding the somewhat puzzling American terms, is of absorbing interest, and throws much light on the extraordinary form of corruption known as "Tammany." It does not take him long to discover that—

> As the lawyers all knew, considerations of abstract justice were foreign to the Tombs. Each judge had his foible. It was more important to know them than the law. . . .

Men and women who have passed through the police and other courts of this country, in the course of the agitation for the vote, will endorse his reflections on abstract justice. One judge, he goes on, "believed that a lady should be above suspicion. So when a woman was accused of crime, she was certainly not a lady, and probably guilty." There is a familiar ring about that, too!

The women in the book are modern women: the scientific genius with revolutionary views of marriage; the lawyer with whom he goes for an idyllic walking tour in Normandy, under a compact that she is not to discuss her pet subject, socialism, and he is to forget that she is a woman; and an Italian woman of the streets who is rescued and married by Arnold's friend. Very interesting is the character-sketch of the daughter of this marriage, strong as a peasant, buoyant, fearless (a suffragette, of course), a girl who, knowing her mother's story, is not degraded by it, but rather ennobled, since it has given her a wider outlook on life, and a deeper sympathy with weakness than she would otherwise have.

Many of the problems the book raises are the problems that the woman's movement is out to tackle, and those who can get past the strong American flavour of the writing will find it full of suggestions, though with some of these Suffragists will possibly find themselves at issue.

REPRINTS

We have received reprints of three books suitable for Christmas presents: the series of essays entitled "What's Wrong with the World," by G. K. Chesterton, first published in June, 1910, and dedicated to Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P., is now issued at 1s. net (Cassell). "Women and Economics," by Charlotte Perkins Gilman (Putnam), the first edition of which appeared in 1899, is re-issued at 3s. 6d. net. In a new introduction, written this year, Mrs. Gilman explains that the book lays down the basic proposition that every woman should earn her own living. "No Surrender," by Constance E. Maud (Duckworth), the Suffrage novel of which, when it made its first appearance just a year ago, VOTES FOR WOMEN said, "It is a book which breathes the very spirit of our Woman's Movement . . . written from actual experience," is now published at 2s. net.

CALENDARS

Those who have a taste for Literary Calendars will find the series of little volumes issued by Frank Palmer very suitable for presents. Anatole France, George Moore, and Arnold Bennett are among the authors from whose works daily quotations have been chosen, each book being devoted to a well-known writer. These little books are issued at 1s. net each.

BOOKS RECEIVED

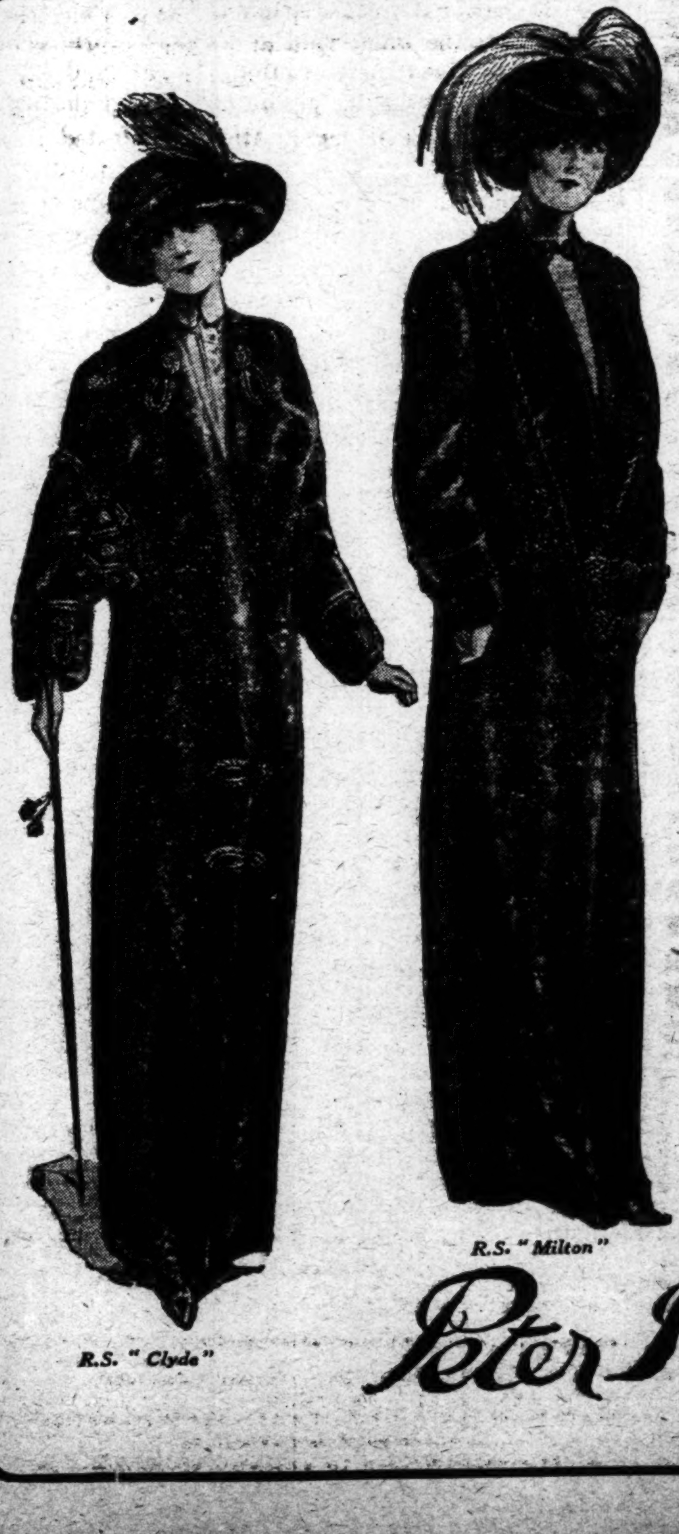
"Veiled Mysteries of Egypt." By S. H. Leeder. (London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 16s. net.)

"The Nature of Woman." By J. Lionel Taylor, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (London: A. C. Fifield. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"The Diner's Out Vade Vecum." By Alfred H. Miles. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

"The Everyday Savoury Book." By Marie Worth. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. net.)

"Physics and Politics." By Walter Bagchot. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. Price 1s. net.)



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IRELAND'S STRUGGLE

It is impossible in reading Mr. Sydney Brooks' very clear and concise history of Ireland's struggle for freedom not to compare that struggle with woman's fight for political recognition. In the first chapters of "Aspects of the Irish Question"* we see the Green Isle prosperous and busy, fulfilling her own place in the world, and carrying on her own industries; working out her own salvation side by side with England, but holding her own independence. Then in the eighteenth century we see Ireland bound and submissive and ruled by an alien minority: her own natural duties and rights taken from her, her industries taxed to extinction, and the beautiful country utterly bewildered and weak, apparently settling down to servitude. Then came O'Connell and agrarian outrages; then the invention of the boycott—a weapon against which government was as powerless as it is against the hunger strike. British statesmanship, as usual, could think of nothing but the bludgeon, and so on the one side were power and tyranny born of racial contempt and untrammelled power; and on the other side famine and fierce hatred and patriotic frenzy. We know how the agitators arose, and how, when O'Brien was imprisoned he refused to wear convict clothes, and London dinner-parties laughed over *Punch's* pictures of the affair. And then came Parnell and the Land League, and the power of the vote was gradually demonstrated in Parliament as Ireland struggled back towards prosperity and freedom; now she has her goal in sight—her battle is nearly won; and we women, looking on, can but remember and imitate.

Mr. Brooks throughout his volume carefully refrains from any allusions to Votes for Women, but he does full justice to women's work in connection with the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and Lady Aberdeen's Health Associations. He sketches the beginning of comradeship in national effort, and shows how the raising of the domestic standard is gradually going on; and he quotes with appreciation the words of Mr. T. W. Russell: "All these things, the effect of which is to enfeeble and impoverish life, have come about because men in Ireland have set about the business of the nation without taking women into their counsels—women having had no national organisation of their own which ranged over the whole field of women's work, which would have given their opinions weight, and forced recognition of them on public bodies and the legislature. This lack of organisation the United Irishwomen will meet. Their aim is to resurrect the countryside which the blindness and passions of men have left barren and joyless." As Suffragists, we know full well that no organisation of women, however perfect, could ever effect such a resurrection as long as women were debarred from entering upon national life as the political equals of men.

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* "Aspects of the Irish Question. By Sydney Brooks (Maunsel.) Price, 2s. 6d. net.

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THE
IRISH PARTY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE
A Contrast

A correspondent sends us the following:—

It was in 1830. O'Connell, with one Irish member to support him, had just entered Parliament. The Abolitionist party was fighting for its life. The slavery party was strong. To O'Connell they sent a large deputation with the message: "If you will promise never to go down to Freemason's Hall with Buxton and Brougham, here are twenty-seven votes for you on every Irish question. If you work with the Abolitionists, count us as enemies."

And O'Connell made reply: "Gentlemen, God knows I am here to speak for the saddest people the sun sees; but may my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if to help Ireland—even Ireland—I forget the negro one single hour!"

In 1912, how much do the miseries and sufferings of white women count with an Irish party bent only on helping an Ireland that is happy, prosperous, and free, compared to the Ireland of O'Connell's time?

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1912.

BRAVO, GEORGE LANSBURY!

Two events of political importance took place on Monday last. The first was the defeat of the Government on an amendment to the Home Rule Bill. The second was the announcement of Mr. George Lansbury's decision to resign his seat and to seek re-election in view of his intention to adopt a new policy in the House of Commons. Of these two events the first has received universal attention; the second has been relegated to an obscure paragraph in the Press. Yet as time goes by it will be found that Mr. Lansbury's action is the more significant of the two. For while the Government defeat, whatever may be its consequences, is part of the normal political warfare of the day, Mr. Lansbury has made a breach in the whole party system which will only widen with the lapse of time.

Elected originally in December, 1910, as a member of the Labour Party, Mr. Lansbury has found his position gradually becoming intolerable. Instead of pursuing the policy of sturdy independence which he looked for, he has found that his party, as an integral part of the Coalition, has become a mere pawn in the hands of the Liberal Government. Through its support the Government carried the Insurance Act in 1911, and by its connivance the Government are able to continue in office to-day in spite of their obstinate and treacherous opposition to Votes for Women. To Mr. Lansbury the Insurance Act is a dead weight hung about the necks of the poorer classes of the community, and the failure of the Labour Party to take a firm stand on this measure brought him into direct conflict with his colleagues. But the attitude of the Government on Woman Suffrage is, in his opinion, a still more serious matter, and calls for the most drastic action available. He altogether refuses to continue to support by his vote the Government which have shown themselves directly opposed to the fundamental principles of democracy, and it is his intention in future to take every opportunity of voting against them. In view of the fact that this policy involves action which might be regarded as a breach of his election pledges, Mr. Lansbury has decided to resign his seat and place himself unreservedly in the hands of his constituents.

The very greatness and nobility of character of George Lansbury prevent us from dwelling on the personal side of the matter. If he were a lesser man we might be tempted to speak of the sacrifices he was making and of the personal prospects he was jeopardising; we might make an appeal to women to show their gratitude to him on account of all that he was giving up for their sake. Such an attitude on our part would be altogether unworthy of the man of whom we are writing. In the big nature of George Lansbury the meaner motives of petty ambition and personal self-seeking have no place. A seat in the House of Commons is valued by him solely for the power it can give him to help the suffering and the oppressed. It is a burden willingly taken up; it is a burden equally willingly laid down if thereby a greater good can be obtained. The claim of George Lansbury to our respect and admiration rests not upon the sacrifices he has made, but on the singleness of purpose which has clarified his vision and has enabled him to perceive the true course by which he could render incalculable service to the cause of women.

His position is simplicity itself. He holds that the essence of all true government is self-government. When, therefore, an unenfranchised class show unmistakable signs of their desire for enfranchisement, the refusal of their demand is a flagrant denial of justice. This issue once raised must of necessity transcend all other issues, and any Government which opposes its solution must itself be relentlessly opposed.

This situation has now arisen in the present struggle for the enfranchisement of women. An agitation greater in extent and enthusiasm has been carried on than was ever the case for any other extension of the franchise. Gigantic meetings have been held in every part of the country; all the organised societies of women have expressed themselves by overwhelming majorities in its favour; all the principal municipalities of the four kingdoms have petitioned Parliament to pass the Women's Bill. Yet the Government refuses to give way, and meets the agitation by trickery and deceit, and attempts to repress the rising militant spirit of women by coercion and repression. In face of such facts there is only one course for any member of Parliament, who respects the fundamental principles of liberty, to adopt. He must leave the ranks of the Coalition, and by every means in his power he must endeavour to bring about the defeat of the Liberal Government.

In taking this course George Lansbury is expressing simultaneously his conviction of the supreme importance of the Votes for Women issue and his unflinching determination to subordinate the claims of party to the dictates of his conscience. He is therefore striking a powerful blow not only for woman suffrage, but also against the corrupt party system by which our politics are dominated at the present day. He is a pioneer, and though at the moment he stands isolated and alone, he has declared himself, by his action, to be a leader, and others are bound to follow his example. He forms, in fact, a new standard by which the actions of all other men must in future be judged. It is not merely his individual vote which is concerned, but the whole effect which his action will have upon others. So long as no man had dared to take this course it was open to all to say that it was impossible, but now that one has come forward, every one of those who refuse to follow are convicted of pusillanimity.

To the electors of the Bow and Bromley division will be given the supreme opportunity of ratifying by their votes the decision to which Mr. Lansbury has come, and of returning him to Parliament to carry this decision into effect. We have sufficient faith in the inherent sense of justice of the men of that district to believe that they will give their verdict in his favour by an overwhelming majority provided the issue is put fairly before them. In order that this may be the case, we make a special appeal to our readers to assist Mr. Lansbury by every means in their power. Speakers, canvassers, and other helpers are needed in the constituency at once in large numbers, for the fight is likely to be short and sharp. Financial assistance is needed immediately, and the attention of our readers is directed to the special fund which we are opening for this purpose and to which contributions are specially invited. Finally, paper-sellers are required in large numbers in order that this paper may be placed in the hands of every man and woman in the constituency.

The battle which George Lansbury is fighting is part of the age-long battle which has been fought all through the history of the world for human freedom, and in the name of all these brave souls who down the ages have joined in this fight, we wish him "God Speed."

THE RIGHT OF INDICTMENT

By Laurence Housman

One of Edmund Burke's most questionable aphorisms is also his most famous. "You cannot," he said, "indict a nation." It is what history has always done; and the work of the historian is largely a record of condemnations or of acquittals, applying not so much to individuals as to governments and peoples.

The process of bringing an indictment against a nation, so as to make it effective, is, of course, full of difficulty; for in order to make it effective, if the offending party sticks to his guns, you have to go to war, and then you yourself must pay part of the costs, and may become ruined in the process.

What, presumably, Burke meant was that in practical politics you cannot indict a whole nation by peaceful and legal processes. That is perfectly true. You can hold up a nation to the opprobrium of the civilised world; but you cannot by all the eloquence of your pleadings bring it to "eat humble pie" or to own that it is in the wrong. A nation that is thoroughly and indefensibly in the wrong has generally arrived at such a moral condition that only some sort of damage to its material interests will lead it to saner judgment. And what applies to nations applies equally to the parts thereof which hold the reins of power—to governments and to statesmen.

Now if it is ever right to bring an indictment against statesman, or government, or nation, it is right also to give it effect; and it would surely be ludicrous to maintain that this right to make indictment effective against government or nation lay only in the hands of its outside critics—of foreigners. If the right exists at all it must belong equally to the native-born, to those on whom the government is imposed.

It was to meet that inherent right (or that practical claim) of the governed, and to direct it along constitutional lines, that among people of free instincts representative government came to be formed. Representative government is a practical recognition by the State of this right of the people to bring indictment against their rulers and to make it effective by driving them from place and power. At every general election, and in a minor degree at every by-election also, an indictment is brought against the goverument of this country, and either it succeeds or it fails. And just in so far as the people feel themselves to be fairly represented by that elective process, which is our form of indictment for those in power—just in so far, but no further, will they rest satisfied with the constitutional instrument which has been given them, and admitting the moral sanction of government they will remain peaceful and law-abiding even when under a government of which they gravely disapprove. But if the constitutional instrument is denied them, they will assert their right of indictment unconstitutionally.

Representative government, in any form it has yet taken, is not a complete fulfilment of the principle which it sets out to maintain; but is rather in the nature of a make-shift device (constantly shifting with the extending claims of citizenship) for combining the benefits of order and authority with the instinctive demands of self-respecting human nature. And as human nature awakes to self-respect our present form of representative government has to move forward to meet it. For you must, within your scheme of government, give human nature a means whereby to be both law-abiding and self-respecting, otherwise one of these two factors of benefit to the State will disappear. Either the State will lose the respect of the governed, or the governed will lose their own. Both alternatives are bad, and breed weakness to the body politic. Again and again States in the past, trying to build up their strength on physical force only, have ignored the national and social values that arise out of individual freedom; and again and again they have experienced the weakness of that one-sided system and have failed to maintain even their physical powers unimpaired.

We in England have looked on at that failure in other countries—we are watching a conspicuous example of it to-day—and, proud of our own more representative institutions, have applauded those who at the risk of life and liberty have broken laws, overthrown order, and forced failure upon unrepresentative government. We have watched obvious minorities fighting for that strongest and most irreducible minimum, the self-possession of the individual who loves freedom. We have watched that fight of the enfranchised spirit against strong and tyrannical governments; and we have not said—because those fighters were a minority—that therefore they were wrong or their cause less just. On the contrary, we have declared that they were right, and the greater the odds against them the more we have admired them.

Why, when it is a question of resistance to unrepresentative government, do we throw over our every day acceptance and recognition of government by majority? Because that is a device only applicable to, and only tolerable under representation; and because, as outside critics, we have had the sense to recognise that those minorities of to-day belong not only to a great majority of social and political pioneers in the past, but to the majority of the future toward which evolution is bringing us.

And mainly, we have admitted the right of those minorities because under the form of government imposed on them the power to bring an effective indictment by constitutional means against those in authority has been withheld. We did not ask for proof that those who were so fighting represented the bulk of the nation: their right to speak, to protest, and to resist, came to them at the very moment when they had among them a sufficiency of force and numbers to disturb and to dislocate an unjust system of government. Nay, from that moment disturbance and dislocation of government became a duty not only to themselves but to humanity. If they were not to be false to their political ancestry in the past, and to their political heirs in the future, protest and resistance in some form or another became the only right course. In Italy, during the last century, in Russia and Turkey in this, we have recognised that inalienable right of minorities to fight for the principle which gave to Englishmen their constitutional liberties, and in the maintenance of which they made repression too costly for the calculations of practical politicians.

Only here in our own country do latter day politicians turn round and say that what is right abroad is wrong at home. And the reason is not far to seek. Here the tyrannous withholding of constitutional liberty from those demanding it has shifted from King to Parliament; and the indictment which is now being pressed home by militancy is of these politicians themselves. No wonder they object to militancy: it is the alternative form of indictment to the constitutional form which they are refusing to put into the women's hands. And it is an indictment of injustice which has not stood still, which daily mounts up and is increased by the legislative acts of these men themselves. Laws are still being passed over the heads of women in a legislative chamber which has affirmed by majorities larger than the Government can command for its own measures, that women ought to have a say in the making of those laws. In this withholding of the Suffrage from women, therefore, it is not merely delay, as in the case of other measures of reform, it is contradiction, contempt, and denial, put into act and forced forward into law. And for this contradiction, contempt, and denial of their claim, women have recently been called on to pay a new price. Members of Parliament have begun taking the money of women for their unrepresentative acts: their debt of obligation has greatly increased, but apparently not their consciousness of it. No wonder women feel that their justification for bringing an indictment against Government and against Parliament by such means as lie to their hand has greatly increased. We may differ as to what means are best, but the right of indictment remains: the right also to make it as effective, as embarrassing, and as costly to the wrong-doer as possible. The constitutional weapon to this end is the vote. Men have it: the lack of it by women forces them to indict those who exercise unrepresentative power over them by other means.

THE DEFEAT OF THE SNOWDEN AMENDMENT

An Irishman's View

The defeat of the Snowden Amendment was a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, in the minds of many to whom the honour and the highest welfare of Ireland are things too precious to become the mere chattels in a political barter, there lingered a faint hope that a miracle might occur. Now and then in the course of history it has happened that an opportunity for the achievement of nobility on a large scale has presented itself to masses of people. Sometimes the opportunity has been seized: sometimes it has not.

Such an opportunity presented itself to the Irish Members of the British Parliament. A new constitution is being framed. Its introduction synchronises with the acute stage in the movement for breaking the serfdom of womanhood, a stage which in all movements that are on the open road of human progression, indicates the approach of the final act. The reasons for the repeal of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland may or may not have suffered diminution in the century that has elapsed since its enactment. Some think that times have changed, and that England is no longer the England of the Penal Laws. Others maintain that a principle, such as that of national freedom, is a principle for ever. But whatever difference on this matter may exist, there is none on the fact that the industrial development of the nineteenth century in Great Britain, and the agricultural decay in Ireland in the same period, have thrown large numbers of women out of what had previously been regarded as the purely feminine sphere of activity. There are thousands of women in Ireland, as well as tens of thousands in Great Britain, compelled to earn their living in the same way as men. They contribute to the general welfare; they share the responsibilities of citizenship; but, as the outcome of an obliquity of social vision that will be a sore amazement to posterity, they are denied any voice in the regulation of the life which they create and sustain. The modern discovery of this anachronism dates back half a century; but the long history of female servitude has borne down with increasing intensity on the past half-dozen years of the new century of hope, and driven the question of woman's freedom right into the front of legislative importance.

It was given to the Nationalist Party to proclaim their allegiance to the spirit of freedom, and to anticipate and expedite the process of social evolution by insisting that the Home Rule Bill should be not merely a reversal of the Act of Union a century ago, but also an expression of a century of swift development in the meantime. The Party failed to realize the responsibility and glory of the occasion, and have put their hands to the declaration that freedom for Ireland is freedom for Irishmen, and a continuance of the vicious subjection of womanhood. Out of Ireland's heroic past emerges a little stir of petty expediency, a great betrayal, a sickening overthrow of the ideal. One crumb of comfort remains. Those of us who know Ireland, know that the Nationalist Party is not Ireland. That is the only excuse we can, out of the depths of our humiliation, offer to the women of Great Britain, to whom the Party could have opened the way to freedom.

It may, of course, be urged that the coming Franchise Bill will see everything set right, and that the Irish Party will justify its once proud boast of being the champions of every movement against slavery. I fear that a scrutiny of the speeches of Mr. Redmond and his followers leaves little room for such a hope. Mr. Redmond promises the freedom of his Party in their vote on the Franchise Bill. The passing of a Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Franchise Bill will mean the automatic inclusion of Woman Suffrage in the Home Rule Bill. At the same time, Mr. Redmond declares that Woman Suffrage under Home Rule is a domestic matter for the Irish Parliament to settle. Thus he promises freedom in one breath, and puts a chain on that freedom in the next breath Further, if the vote of the Party on the Snowden Amendment was dictated by temporary Parliamentary exigencies, it seems rather superfluous for the Party to put up Mr. Hugh Law, in the disguise of a "convinced Suffragist," to state that there was no demand in Ireland for Woman Suffrage. If that argument was usable by a "suffragist" on an occasion when it was unnecessary, it is not likely to remain in hiding later on. It is echoed with variations by the servile English press, which knows about as much of the true life of Ireland as its absentee representatives. Little wonder that some of the freest spirits in Ireland have broken bounds in the face of hypocrisy and falsehood, and that many who have heretofore called themselves Nationalists are in doubt as to whether patriotism can be served by lying and meanness. There is an old Celtic saying, "Obstruct not the prospect of futurity to provide for the present." There is another, "Woe to him who for a trifling advantage merits disgrace." The Irish Party, by its slavish adoption of the hand-to-mouth policy of expediency, has done violence to the soul of the race which it claims to represent. They cannot keep back the next great stage in human progress; but there are many who are filled with dread that the failure of Ireland's representatives to rise to a great occasion is a signal from the Cosmos that the struggle of a nation for seven centuries is still far from its termination.

JAMES H. COUSINS.

VICTORY OF MISS GLADYS EVANS

Government Defeated Once More

The brute force of the Government has again been defeated by the spirit of the Suffragette. Miss Gladys Evans, who was re-arrested last week for the second time since her release on licence, and was remanded in custody on a charge of failing to notify her change of address to the police, has once more vindicated her right to be treated as a political ex-prisoner, and not as a ticket-of-leave convict. Again, the magistrate refused to convict when she was brought up at the Northern Police Court, Dublin, last week, and again Miss Evans has foiled the inhumane attempt of the Government to send her back to gaol as soon as her friends had patched her up sufficiently to enable her to leave the house in which she was staying. How long are the Government going to play this brutal game upon a woman whose spirit is invincible?

In the Police Court

Miss Gladys Evans was brought before Mr. Mahony at the Northern Police Court, Dublin, on Friday last.

Mr. MacSweeney, quoting the sections of the Act of Parliament under which the prosecution was brought, said that a person to whom a licence was issued, when he chose to leave a police district, should notify such intention to the police officer of that district, stating the place of destination. On arrival at such place the person should also notify the police officer of the district to which the person had removed. The latter part of the section did not come into this case, as Miss Evans did not go into another police district. On October 3 she was released on licence, and was served with a notice to report herself.

Mr. Byrne (defending): When was the notice served on her? We got no such notice. The police took this lady into custody, and we do not know what they did with her boxes and papers. The licence—the original one—was under the seal of Mr. Birrell. On the front of that licence was his Majesty's licence permitting her to be at large during the remaining portion of her penal servitude term "unless said Gladys Evans be convicted of an offence," or his Majesty revoked the licence. On the back of this licence there was no provision stating that she should report herself.

Major Owen Lewis, Willfield, Ballsbridge, formerly Governor of Mountjoy Prison, identified the warrant (produced) as that under which Miss Evans was in his custody in Mountjoy. There was usually a condition endorsed directing the convict to report himself to the police. He saw there was no condition on defendant's licence about reporting herself.

Captain Robert Johnston, Deputy-Governor, Mountjoy Prison, in reply to Mr. Byrne, said he did not tell Miss Evans she was bound to report herself to the police.

Sergeant Stedmond, 15G, said that he left a notice with the defendant on October 4, 1912, by giving it to Mrs. Earle, at 39, Raglan Road, for her.

Police evidence of the re-arrest having been given, Mr. Byrne submitted that there was not the slightest evidence to prove that Miss Evans was leaving the Dublin police district.

Mr. MacSweeney referred to the deposition of Chief Inspector Brien [as reported in last week's Votes for Women].

Mr. Mahony: But where is the evidence that she was about to leave the police district?

Mr. MacSweeney said that the inference was that she was about to leave the police district. "I do not wish to inflict any pain," he said, "but take it that you are dealing now with an ordinary convict. The provisions of this Act are——"

Miss Evans: I protest. I am not an ordinary convict.

Mr. MacSweeney: I do not wish to inflict any pain, but these Acts are to keep the police informed of the movements of criminals. The presumption that she was going to act legally was displaced by the fact that she refused to report herself.

The case was dismissed, and Miss Evans discharged, Mr. Mahony remarking that there was no evidence to show that she was acting illegally.

In the House of Commons on Thursday, November 7, Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland a question of which he had given private notice—whether the re-arrest of Miss Gladys Evans in Dublin was due to the fact that she. being a convict released on ticket-of-leave, failed to report herself to the prison authorities; whether it is not a fact that she was arrested for precisely the same reason a fortnight ago, and, owing to her refusal of food, was discharged by the magistrate before whom she came for trial seven days later; and what object the authorities have in view in persisting in these futile arrests?

Mr. Birrell: Miss Evans is a convict released before the completion of her sentence on ticket-of-leave, which imposed on her certain conditions, some expressed in the licence itself and some of statutory obligation. Amongst these conditions was a duty to report her place of abode and any proposed change. Miss Evans not only has never notified her address, but has on two occasions attempted to leave it without acquainting the authorities with either her intention or her place of destination. On both the occasions of her re-arrest she was actually on the point of departure. The authorities obviously cannot allow a convict to pay no attention to her terms of release, and the only course is either to revoke Miss Evans's ticket-of-leave altogether or to bring her before the magistrate.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is the obligation to report a change of address a statutory one or one imposed by regulation; and if the latter, will the Right Hon. gentleman, in the circumstances, see that it should be abrogated?

Mr. Birrell: No. Whichever way it is, I could not recommend its abrogation. The most essential matter in these things is that we should know where the convict is about to go. If she would give us that information her re-arrest would not be necessary.

This, says the *Daily Citizen*, is a fairly clear hint as to the Government's line of action in the new phase of the suffrage struggle.

◆

DUBLIN SUFFRAGISTS IN COURT.

Before Mr. Macinerney, in the Dublin Northern Police Court on Thursday, November 7, Mrs. Margaret Connery and Mrs. Kathleen Emerson were charged with maliciously breaking six panes of glass, value 12s. 6d., in the Customs House on the previous evening.

Police evidence having been given, Mrs. Connery, in cross-examining the constable, said that the words she used were: "I have done this as a protest against the defeat of the woman suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill." That explained her motive.

Mrs. Emerson, addressing the magistrate, said that she broke the windows in the Customs House as a protest against the defeat of the women's suffrage amendment to the Home Rule Bill. It was an intolerable thing that Irish women were not to be part of the constitution that was about to be established in Ireland, and that they were to have no right of citizenship, and to be branded as outlaws.

Mrs. Connery having entered a very emphatic protest against the unnecessary brutality of locking them up on the previous night and of refusing them bail, said that in London women's word was taken, but in the present case their word was rejected, and their bail refused. This was a little bit of extra tyranny—a little bit of refined cruelty—that was inflicted upon them. Suffragists might break windows, but they never broke their word. They were prepared to face the consequences of their action. They had used every sort of appeal to the Government of this country and to the Government of England, which, fortunately or unfortunately, were the one Government. Their appeals had been all in vain. If she had made a protest it was a very small one indeed in comparison to the indignation that she felt. If she committed damage in comparison to the indignation and the sense of outrage of which she was conscious it would be far more destructive than the simple protest she had made. They had been betrayed by the Irish Party. The protest she had made was a very small one when she thought of the white slave traffic, the sweated women of Dublin and Belfast——

Mr. Macinerney: I can't allow you to go into this.

The Prisoner: When I think of these things it nerves me to break every window in Dublin, including your worship's. (Loud laughter.) Your worship has before you a type of criminal that is foreign to your experience.

Mr. Macinerney: Indeed you are not. I have tried several of you before. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Connery, proceeding, said that she did not break the law because she liked breaking it. She had been driven to adopt those methods in order to draw public opinion—Irish public opinion—to the intolerable grievances under which women had to live. She was quite prepared to accept the responsibility of her action. She was outside the Constitution. In the eyes of the law she was not a person there, logically the law had no right to call her to book.

Mr. Macinerney: Why are you not a person?

Mrs. Connery: The law has decided I am not a person for the purpose of voting.

Mr. Macinerney: I have no vote, and I consider myself a person. (Laughter.)

Mrs. Connery: The class to which you belong is represented. A number of safeguards have been put into the Home Rule Bill, and we want some safeguards for Irishwomen.

Mr. Macinerney: If you go on in this way I will have to get you removed.

Mrs. Connery, proceeding, said that the only right that belonged to an outlaw was the right to rebel against tyranny. That was a right she would adhere to, and as long as she lived she would fight against tyranny. She had every bit as much justification in fighting tyranny as the men of Wexford in 1798, as the Balkan States in fighting against Turkey.

Mr. Macinerney: Constable, remove that woman.

Mrs. Connery: I am not a criminal. I am a political offender, and claim to be treated as such. The Government has the right to punish me, but it has not the right to degrade me.

Mr. Macinerney ordered each of them to pay for the damage, 12s. 6d., and in addition he fined them £1 each for the breach of the law. He gave them a week to pay.

Mrs. Connery: We must decline to pay any money.

◆

DUBLIN LETTER-BOX DAMAGED

Letter-boxes in various parts of Dublin were tampered with during Thursday night last week, quantities of dark fluid being found inside; letters, in some cases, were damaged.

◆

BELFAST POST OFFICE

Belfast, says the *Belfast Evening Telegraph*, has waited a considerable time for a demonstration of force from the militant section of the women's suffrage movement, but it has come at last. Some time during Wednesday night, November 6, a window in the Donegal Square South Branch Post Office was broken. On the floor was a small parcel wrapped in paper, on which was inscribed, "To whom it may concern." The parcel, which contained a white stone, weighing about a pound and a quarter, of the kind usually found on the seashore, was enclosed in a copy of Votes for Women, to which was attached the message: "Snowden Amendment Defeated; Irishwomen Never. A Crack from the Women of Down." The stone and paper were handed over to the authorities at the General Post Office, Royal Avenue.

◆

IRISH PRISONERS RELEASED

The four Irish Suffragists, Miss Lloyd, Miss Hasler, Miss Webb, and Miss Houston, who were sentenced on July 12 to six months' imprisonment in Dublin for window-breaking, were released from Mountjoy Prison on Friday, November 8, by order of the Lord Lieutenant.

◆

MISS HELEN CRAGGS

Miss Helen Craggs, who has now recovered sufficiently to be able to relate her experiences in Holloway Prison, tells us that when she entered the prison on Saturday, October 19, she informed the authorities that she intended to enter upon a hunger strike if the rights of a political prisoner were not granted. During the week following she received an answer to her petition, which stated that hard labour would be remitted, and that she would be given the conditions laid down in Rule 243a. This concession she refused to accept, and on Saturday, October 26, she began the hunger strike. On Monday, seven or eight wardresses and two prison doctors entered her cell in the hospital and fed her by force, using the nasal tube. She suffered extreme pain and discomfort, both in the throat and in the back. When placed in the chair, she resisted with all her strength, and kicked the chair away; the leg of it was broken in the struggle. She pushed the wardresses out of the cell. Next time she was placed upon the bed, and the wardresses sat on her prostrate body while the operation was performed. To this, and the struggle, is due the condition of internal and external bruising referred to last week.

It is noteworthy that although she was allowed part of the time to have many of her books, including Browning and Shakespeare, she was not permitted to have her copy of the prison regulations or any writing paper.

In order to tempt her to take her food, steaming hot coffee and tempting delicacies were brought in, daintily arranged in pretty china and on a drawn linen tray-cloth. Owing to sickness after the forcible feeding, and to want of air, she was reduced to a very weak state, and on Wednesday morning, when the attempt was again about to be made, she fainted, and the process was not carried out. She was released by order of the Home Office on Wednesday afternoon.

◆

HUNGER STRIKING IN THE 17th CENTURY

A correspondent of the *Spectator* has sent to that paper the following interesting quotation from the diary of John Evelyn, July 8, 1656:—

> "I had the curiosity to visit some Quakers here (Ipswich) in prison; a new fanatic set, of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate or other. . . . One of these was said to have fasted twenty days; but another, endeavouring to do the like, perished on the 10th, when he would have eaten, but could not."

MR. SNOWDEN'S AMENDMENT

Press Comments

We hope that the result of the voting on Mr. Snowden's amendment to the Home Rule Bill will not be to convince the friends of woman suffrage that their cause is being played with. But we are bound to share Lord Robert Cecil's scepticism of a procedure under which the House of Commons yields a smooth assent to an inchoate Bill or an academic resolution, and yet contrives to evade every opportunity, as it occurs, for conceding what Lord Robert Cecil called an "effective grant" of the reform. The position, indeed, is almost farcical. . . . The question of principle hardly arises, for the Irish right to settle the method of the Irish franchise was set aside by the Prime Minister when he prescribed proportional representation for the Senate. In the second place, what precise value are we to attach to Mr. Redmond's promise of a "free vote" for his party on the suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill? Is he willing to apply the suffrage to Ireland? Then the question is one of form, and his vote might as well have been given for it under the Irish as under the British Bill. Or does he oppose woman suffrage for Ireland on the ground that it is undesirable? If so, he is virtually in the position which Mr. Asquith occupies in regard to the British electorate. . . . If that is his view of the situation, we are afraid that the real force of Irish Nationalism will inevitably be thrown into the hostile camp. This was the actual, though concealed, strategy of the Nationalist Party on the Conciliation Bill. If it is repeated, the Irish representatives will not merely assert their right to govern their own franchise; they will have imposed their view on us. British Home Rulers may, we think, ask for a more exact neutrality than this. We cannot require anti-suffragist Irishmen to vote for the suffrage. But we have a right to call on Mr. Redmond, when he refers suffragists from the inferior chance offered by the Home Rule Bill to the superior opening of the Franchise Bill, to give reality to his offer, and to make a substantial, in place of a nominal, contrition to a free vote in the Imperial Parliament.—**The Nation.**

◆

WHEN IS A SUFFRAGIST NOT A SUFFRAGIST?

The answer is, meaning by the term Suffragist in this connection a Liberal Suffragist: When it is necessary to support the Government.—**Morning Post.**

◆

WINDOW-SMASHING

Although it is a serious matter to most shopkeepers to have their windows broken by women suffragists, some of them manage to keep up their spirits during the ordeal. A well-known cigarette shop in Old Bond Street which has had the misfortune to suffer window-breaking by burglars as well as by suffragettes shows the following sporting notice in its window:—"Our window has again been broken by burglars. The score now is—Burglars, 2; suffragettes, 1. Burglars are leading by one point" — **Manchester Guardian.**

◆

In the House of Commons on Monday last, Mr. King asked how many shops and other premises suffered from window smashing by suffragettes on the night of November 5, and what was the total amount of the damage?

Mr. McKenna: I am informed that nineteen premises suffered damage estimated at £400.

◆

MORE PILLAR BOXES

A report comes from Bristol that red ochre has been poured in a pillar-box there. An attempt to set fire to letters in a pillar-box at Southport is also reported in the Press. A similar report come from Winchmore Hill, where on Sunday night, when a postman was clearing one of the boxes, he found a number of letters partly burned and others altogether destroyed. On Friday last week, according to the Press, a quantity of black fluid was poured into the Post Office pillar-box near Sloane Square Station. Four pillar-boxes in the Handsworth district have had varnish poured into them, and 120 letters were more or less damaged.

WANTED AT ONCE.—Detectives of miniature stature, able to conceal themselves inside pillar-boxes and breathe in that confined space.—Apply to the Postmaster-General.—**Punch.**

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"WELL OFF" ON 10s. A WEEK!

Investigation of the Strike of Sweated Women in the Black Country, by Our Special Correspondent.

Coming home late last night and going, candle in hand, into my kitchen, I found that the familiar objects of household use had taken on a new aspect and an insistent importance. What had been mere pots and pans, kettles and pails, bits of tin somehow stuck together to be used with no particular respect and replaced cheaply when cast aside, now looked at me with human eyes, and said: "We are the flesh and blood, the youth and strength of your fellow-creatures." And I knew what they meant, for I had just come from Cradley Heath and Lye, where the women in the "hollow-ware" industry are out on strike for the minimum wage of 10s. for a fifty-four hours week of hard manual work.

Block kindly lent by the "Daily Citizen."
SOME OF THE WOMEN ON STRIKE

The term "hollow-ware" covers many things that we consider necessary to our daily existence—all our tinned ware, enamelled ware, kettles and buckets. A great deal of the work necessary to turning out these articles is done by women and girls. Men also work at this trade, but their pay is much higher than that of the women, and the conditions of their work are different. Men can earn £2 a week; but it is only lately that women have dared to ask for the glorious minimum of 10s.

About two years ago the women and girls in the hollow-ware trade formed a trades union and put forward this minimum demand. At a conference of employers it was agreed to yield to this and pay the 10s. But because it has not been scheduled as a sweated trade this decision was not registered under the Trades Board Act, with the result that while some decent employers honestly observe the minimum, and in some cases pay more, unscrupulous masters ignore the decision entirely, and give 7s. or 8s. for a week's work. It is interesting to observe that the lower pay is generally given by the wealthier employers. The present strike is a complicated one. The women (I will not deal with the men's side) are out of work for three reasons. In the first place, they are striking for this minimum; then some of them are striking in sympathy with the men whose places they have refused to fill; and finally a number of them are automatically out of work because their job was finishing some process, the earlier stage of which was the work of men now on strike. This last class are not entitled to strike pay, and it is for them that funds are at present being raised. The girls who get 5s. a week of strike pay are giving up a shilling of that for their unentitled companions, with the result that 4s. a week is being given all round.

4s. a week

But how do these girls manage to live on 4s. a week? As a matter of fact, they can hardly tell you; they just "manage" somehow. On Monday morning I saw them at the Workers' Institute at Cradley Heath. They had come for their strike pay. I was struck with the extreme youthfulness of most of them. Children who should have been still at school were facing all the relentless pressure of industrialism, and coming for strike-pay when they should have been romping in a garden. I could not over-state the splendid impression of loyalty given by these girls. They were all standing together, and were proud to say that there was not a blackleg among them. The older women had a different look. They had come through even worse times in days when strikes among women were unheard of, when it was just the common lot of women to submit eternally and thank man for any crumb. But even they see something better ahead for their daughters. A woman who has brought up seven children on 17s. a week thinks the unmarried girl who gets 10s. is well off. But those girls must exercise a self-control that is wonderful. They have not given in to the ordinary temptations of poverty. They are neatly dressed, clean, and self-respecting. A big employer of women at Lye spoke to me most highly of their character. He said that the standard the women set for themselves was very high; they were not self-indulgent, and drunkenness was practically unknown among them. It is by sheer force of character that they keep themselves above the abject poverty line. One girl earning 10s. gave 7s. 6d. each week to her mother. After paying her insurance penny and twopence to the Union she would have 2s. 3d. left for clothes and pocket-money. Other girls, earning less, would pay 5s. or 6s. for their keep at home. In most cases I came across there would be one or two girls, and perhaps a father or brother, or even the mother at work, and they would manage by their combined labour to bring into the house what might be considered a fair workman's wage. But what about girls or women who are alone, and have only their 10s. or 7s. 6d. or less? In such cases, I was told, everyone was kind to them and helped them. And so the greed of employers paying a sweated wage is covered up by the sheer goodness of their victims.

A Lesson for Anti-Suffragists

And what work it is! Anti-Suffragists are fond of comparing man's work with woman's work. I should have liked to take some of them round the factories of Lye and its neighbourhood. In the deafening din of the bucket factories the women were working at a speed that seemed almost insane, until one knew that they had to do a certain amount of work before they began to earn their wage. In the galvanising department men and women stand side by side, the men dipping the buckets into boiling acid, and the women taking them from them and rinsing them out in water. The sheds are filled with stifling fumes, which even in a few minutes make the eyes smart and the throat chokey. How people stand it day after day one cannot imagine. A woman told me that the men, who are nearest the fumes, do not last much after thirty-five. The proprietor of this works told of a man who was earning £4 a week at dipping buckets, but gave it up for a wage of 18s. because of the effect on his health. The girls, too, stand in those fumes, and, besides that, they get their clothes soaked through daily with the splashings from the tubs. Surely even masters who pay the princely wage of 10s. to their women ought to be forced to provide waterproof overalls for work such as this. Upstairs, above the sheds, women were doing the preparatory work of putting the buckets together. Their speed was miraculous. One girl would incise the outline on a big sheet of metal, another would cut it, and others were incessantly hammering the pieces together or soldering with hot irons dipped in acid. The strength required for the continuous swift hammering must be very great, and here, again, the girls were young and fair, and their work seemed the most incongruous thing on earth. Downstairs, again, a woman of sixty years was hammering redhot iron for the bucket handles. It looked like the work of a blacksmith. She had toiled all her life and reared a family, and still had to do work which might tire a strong man. Naturally a woman cannot put by anything from the wages earned in this trade.

In another—much larger—factory where the men were on strike, and so the women galvanisers were thrown out of work, I saw the processes of enamelling going on. It has been said sometimes that this enamelling process is dangerous, and an outsider naturally thinks there may be lead in enamel. As a matter of fact, there is no lead used, and the work done by the woman seemed safe and easy. This factory has some improvements not found in others. The girls who dip the basins and pans in the enamel do not hold them in their hands, but in tongs, and there is an arrangement to prevent splashing and wetting their clothes. The employer here, who pays the minimum, and more in some cases, and who welcomes the Trade Union, told me that the really dangerous part of the trade was the production of the bright tin ware. For that reason he had entirely given up that branch, and was building up his business largely on enamelled ware.

I sat in a worker's home and saw three generations—the grandmother, her daughter, and granddaughter. They were brave and quiet, and talked of the co-operation among the workers, and did not care how long the strike lasted if they won their point in the end. It was the money that mattered, they said; work they could do, however hard. They would not complain of the nature of their work. "You get used to it; and if only the money was good us wouldn't mind." These women do not want pity. They are like militant Suffragists—full of determination and courage, and hope. Employers will not be able to break them or tread them down. And they know that they have on their side the whole of the modern woman's movement, with its sudden recognition of the value of women and women's work. They are real fighters. "I have enjoyed the strike," said an out-of-work-girl; "especially the blacklegs!" She proclaimed it with such spirit that I laughed, and said, "You are a thorough Militant; but I thought there were no blacklegs?" "Oh, no girls," she said; "but two men." Then she told me how they escorted those two blacklegs home every night with songs and shouts, and how the police had to protect them, and how a girl had been summoned for throwing a cake at one of them, and how the other girls had subscribed to pay her fine. One felt that even on the brink of starvation such a girl would have lived on the faith of the Happy Warrior.

But when all is said in praise of courage, there remains the one scandalous fact that hundreds of women are working for less than a living wage. Think of the level on which most people would live their lives if they regarded a rise from 8st to 10s. as a cause for rejoicing!

But there is something worse than the hollow-ware industry in that district. I went to see the women who work in the brick-making trade. The hollow-ware women had spoken with horror of that employment. In the brick trade there is no trades union. The brick-makers earn from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 8d. a day, and the girls who work in the yards loading and carrying bricks get 7s. a week when in full work. In the yard I visited, the girls load the barrows, but do not wheel them; but in another factory which I had not time to visit women carry the bricks on their backs. They wear what is called a "bustle," and bend down to have their backs loaded by two men. They carry this burden to its place and are there unloaded by two men. Both men and women who spoke to me of this method referred to it with disgust. The girls I talked to in the brickyard were gentle-spoken and cleanly, in spite of brick-dust. They, too, did not complain, but they want a union. Inside, the makers of bricks were working in semi-darkness at the close of their day. Rows of hundreds of damp bricks testified to their toil. They work with bare feet. It is piecework, and the foreman was counting their bricks to see if they had earned 1s. 4d. or 1s. 8d. Those women seemed to me very weary, but they had the same wonderful pluck.

There is nothing in life so wasteful as pity that is not turned into immediate action, and then it ceases to be pity and becomes help and action. That is what we have to give to those sisters of ours—encouragement and practical support.

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WELCOME TO MR. LAWRENCE AND MR. GRAY

A fine audience, full of enthusiasm and overflowing with militant spirit, packed the Kensington Town Hall last Friday evening, and gave a great welcome to Mr. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Charles Gray. The outburst of cheering that greeted their appearance on the platform lasted some minutes, and was renewed with vigour later when Mrs. Lawrence was invited on to the platform. The meeting was held by the Men's Political Union, and Mr. Victor Duval put from the chair a resolution which was afterwards carried unanimously, calling upon the Government to insert into the Reform Bill provisions to give women equal voting rights with men, and demanding, in default of this, the rejection of the entire Bill,

Mr. Charles Gray made a humorous and at the same time an extremely moving speech. He gave the true account of his "assault" upon Mr. Lloyd George, relating how, when knocked down by several Liberal stewards, he "caught at the first thing which offered," this happening to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "his face contorted with rage—at least, I hope it was, for I shouldn't like to think it was the face he faced the world with." Mr. Gray, remarking that most of his audience had probably been in prison, or were going there, then proceeded to give telling instances of his fellow prisoners in the hospital ward at Wandsworth Gaol, showing how much lighter were the sentences of those whose offences were against women and children than of those who had offended against property—"a state of things that could never exist if women were behind the law to-day." The speaker concluded in fine praise of militancy. "The question is not how you dare be militant, but how you dare not to be militant. . . . Those who would kill this movement must first kill its spirit: those who would kill its spirit must first vanquish God."

Mr. H. D. Harben followed with a very interesting speech, beginning with a reminiscence of the Eton school library, where he first knew Mr. Pethick Lawrence, than whom "there was no man I was prouder to know then, and no man I am prouder to know now." Dealing with the alleged danger of a sex war, the speaker showed how "the whole sex business in our modern civilisation has been grossly exaggerated, and if we are to be great as a nation we must sweep this thing back into the corner from which it crawled." With regard to militancy, he distinguished between that of voteless women and enfranchised man, but added powerfully that this question had long ago been taken by the Cabinet out of the category of ordinary questions, and since the institution of forcible feeding, "people who feel as I do have every right to take any steps we please to try and put a stop to it. Cabinet Ministers must not be surprised if decent Englishmen sometimes feel impelled to mete out to them the treatment they would give to any drunken blackguard who was ill-treating a woman."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence (who had to wait some minutes while the audience rose and cheered, finally singing "For he's a jolly good fellow") began his speech with an interesting analysis of the recent debate on Mr. Snowden's amendment, and said that anyone still believing after that division in the Private Member, or in any party or portion of the House of Commons, must be living in a fool's paradise. The arguments were simply those used by people who had to excuse a low-down trick; and the speaker here illustrated what had happened in the House by the analogy of a man and a woman to whom he wished to give £50, and, instead of dividing it equally between them as the woman demanded, giving it all to the man with the suggestion that he might, if he chose, give her £25 of it in three years' time. "But by their votes ye shall know them. . . . Their speeches may take themselves in, they cannot take us in." Dealing with the way the parties had voted on the amendment, Mr. Lawrence said that the fact of the Government Whips being put on did not rob the private member of responsibility in the matter. The Labour Party, by not voting against the inclusion of the whole clause after the defeat of the amendment, had supported the Government. "Now, how in the face of those facts can any woman trust the Labour Party as a whole?"

The speaker then came to what he called "a rather more personal story." Describing his share in the "great and glorious demonstration of last March, which resulted in putting fear into the hearts of the British public—fear for their great god property," he went on to the imprisonments that followed, to the Conspiracy Trial and to the high tribute won from the jury, and to the account of his own imprisonment and hunger strike. Giving details of the forcible feeding process, he added: "I do not think any person has a right to play with his life, but I say that every man and woman not only has a right, but it becomes a duty, to stake life if the thing for which they do so is in their opinion essentially worth while." The hazard was not forfeited in this case, because "the Government did not dare to go to the country with its hands covered with blood-guiltiness." Mr. Lawrence went on to describe the saddling of the costs of the prosecution on him and Mrs. Pankhurst as a new thing, being based on a recent Act of 1908. Cheers greeted his statement that the Government had only got £300 out of the Holmwood sale, still had to get £800—"and I am going to make it as difficult for them as I can."

He had passed through many experiences in the last nine months; there was one he had not passed through, and that was contrition. He saw even more clearly than ever before the absolute need for militancy to win the vote.

There was, however, one experience that he and his wife had been through recently, of which the wound had remained. They all knew to what he referred. Describing himself as having been something like a "foster-mother" to the W.S.P.U., he said that separation from the Union had been like the separation of parent from child. When he and his wife came back from Canada, they found that their colleagues had settled on a new policy of militancy which they could not accept as people behind the scenes whose business it would be to organise, advocate, and defend it. "You have got to be true to yourself. If you do not stand for fundamental truth in yourself, you can only stand for a lie to the world." Speaking of their resignation at Mrs. Pankhurst's request, he said: "There was no other alternative open to us except to be false to ourselves or to break the Union to bits." Mr. Lawrence, after alluding to the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, concluded with an indictment of those who would criticise or condemn the women fighting in this battle, exhorting them rather to come out and fight. "The victory is to the brave, and the battle is to those who fight . . . the flag of liberty has never been carried forward to a higher peak without a battle, without sacrifice, and without suffering, and it rests with others to take their share so that when the victory comes they may be able to say, 'I, too, played my part; I, too, am responsible that that victory has come.'"

Mr. Reginald Pott and Mrs. Lamartine Yates also spoke, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was loudly called for at the end of the meeting, and spoke for a few minutes on the flame of militancy being carried all over the world, and concluded with the words of Sir Gareth: "Speak true, live true, right wrong, else wherefore born?"

A collection of £100 was raised, Lady Knyvett contributing £5 for every speech made during the evening.

◆

WELCOME TO MR. MARK WILKS

As Mr. Pethick Lawrence said in the course of a short speech made at the welcome given by the Tax Resistance League to Mr. Mark Wilks in the Caxton Hall last Monday evening, it was interesting to celebrate the defeat of the Government in the House that day by celebrating Mr. Mark Wilks' defeat of the Government some weeks ago. Mr. Mark Wilks had a very warm welcome when he rose to speak, and aroused much laughter from the militant section of the audience by remarking that he was more accustomed to speaking from the floor of public meetings than from their platforms. Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., said he was proud to speak on a platform that held the two men who had beaten the Government and brought them to their knees; and Dr. Elizabeth Wilks linked up Tax Resistance with Woman Suffrage by pointing out that Mr. Lloyd George had promised to alter the Income Tax Act, but, without being responsible to the women of the country, might easily alter it so as to make it fair to men only. Mrs. Despard also spoke, and Miss Inez Bensusan gave a witty recitation as an Anti-Suffragist.

◆

VILLAGE HAMPDENS!

The following advertisement appeared in the "Agony" column of the *Times* on November 7:—

WIDOWED LADY asks for advice and help to restrain her two daughters from militant suffrage work. Living in little country village, she has no friends who can bring arguments to bear against her daughters' headstrong intentions.

We are glad to note that the other inhabitants of the little country village are so militant.

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MILITANCY—SIXTY YEARS AGO

An American Suffragist sends us an interesting story of her first contact with the woman's movement. Sixty years ago, sitting as a little girl in church one Sunday morning in a new Hampshire church, she saw a frail little woman, a deaconess, stand up and protest because the preacher had said something in his sermon that was derogatory to women. Two deacons at once approached her on tiptoe and asked her to go out. She refused to go of her own accord, and was solemnly carried out. The deacons on tiptoe—the frail little woman—the insulting remark of the principal speaker—how unlike and yet how like in spirit to the Cabinet Minister's meeting of to-day!

THE REPORT OF THE DIVORCE COMMISSION

The Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes was issued on Monday night in the form of a Blue Book. The drastic reforms recommended may be grouped roughly under four heads: (1) The placing of men and women on an equal footing with regard to grounds for divorce; (2) the cheapening of the costs of divorce and the establishment of local Divorce Courts, so that there shall no longer be one law for the poor and another for the rich; (3) The abolition of judicial separation orders in the Police Courts; (4) The extension of the grounds for divorce in five directions. Besides these main recommendations, there are a number of minor though important proposals, dealing mainly with legal procedure and the publicity given to divorce court proceedings. There is also a Minority Report, signed by the Commissioners representing the Church of England, which opposes any extension of the grounds for divorce, but accepts the principle of sex equality.

Equality for Men and Women

To Suffragists the Report is interesting as revealing the significant change in public opinion which has recently taken place with regard to the moral equality of the sexes. Both the Majority and Minority Reports advocate the extension to women of the rights enjoyed by men in applying for divorce. The Majority Report also adds that: "In principle there can be no adequate reason why two persons who enter into the matrimonial relationship should have a different standard of morality applied to them. . . . In our opinion it is impossible to maintain a different standard of morality in the marriage relation without creating the impression that justice is denied to women, an impression that must tend to lower the respect in which the marriage law is held by women." Belated though this opinion is, we welcome it heartily now it has come, if only as a sign that the long bondage of women in the marriage relation is nearing its end. For how much this inequality of the moral code as between man and wife is responsible one hardly likes to think; but that it has been far-reaching in its effects, as seen in the low opinion of women still held by many men, is not to be gainsaid. Lord Salvesen, in giving his evidence, said: "Public opinion has always regarded the chastity of men as of less importance than the chastity of women, and even female opinion regards the ante-nuptial incontinence of men in a very different way from that in which it regards the incontinence of women." This is just exactly an example of the confusion of thought which is reflected in our present divorce law, and which it is to be hoped will soon exist no longer. The agitation carried on by women in the last six years for their political rights has no doubt been a potent factor in bringing about a more wholesome state of public opinion concerning these matters.

Mr. Gladstone on Sex Equality

An interesting quotation from Mr. Gladstone occurs in the course of the Report, and runs as follows:—

"I believe that the evil of introducing this principle of inequality between men and women is far greater than the evil which would arise from additional cases of divorce *a vinculo*, and I take my stand in the first place on this, that if it be assumed that the indissolubility of marriage has been the result of the operation of the Christian religion on earth, still more emphatically I believe it may be assumed that the principle of the equality of the sexes has been the consequence of that religion. You have in the very earliest times some traces of what approaches to it, but it is the special and peculiar doctrines of the Gospel respecting the personal relation in which every Christian, whether man or woman, is placed to the person of our Lord that form the firm, the broad, the indestructible basis of the equality of the sexes under the Christian law."

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WOMEN AND THE WAR

A contingent of the Women's Sick and Wounded Convoy Corps left Victoria Station on Monday night for Jamboli, Bulgaria, at the summons of the Bulgarian branch of the Red Cross Society. The departure took place twenty-four hours earlier than was expected, owing to an urgent telegram from Mrs. St. Clair Stobart (Mrs. Greenhalgh), who left last week for the Bulgarian army headquarters. The party included three doctors (Dr. Alice Hutchison, Dr. Jessie Ramsbotham, and Miss Dorothea Tudor, M.B.), as well as two nursing sisters. A supply of stores, antiseptics, vaccines and serum formed part of the luggage, the medical stores alone weighing some 1,500lb. The members of the corps looked very workmanlike in their service uniform, coat and skirt of green-grey tweed, helmet, water-bottle, haversack, and wallet containing hospital requisites. They had an enthusiastic send-off from a large number of friends. It was arranged that a further detachment should follow them on Thursday. A party of nurses bound for the war area travelled by the same train.

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The competition will close December 14th, but **to ensure prompt delivery it is advisable that orders should be posted at once.**

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I enclose Postal Order and stamps for 1s. 3d., for which please send me (postage paid) one box Ador Toilet Soap containing 3 sixpenny tablets. I think the three prettiest Christian Names for a girl are:

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP LETTER BOX

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Please accept the enclosed donation (£5), to be used for any part of the VOTES FOR WOMEN development you think best. Also please enrol my name as one of the Fellowship. It is a beautiful title, and for the first time in the history of the world covers a beautiful reality. The barriers between women of all nations, of all estates, and of all attainments are down, so that together we are preparing to take possession of our inheritance. And the outward visible sign of our communion is by you made possible in the paper of which you are Editors.

It means much to us and much to the great world-movement of which we are a part that you, the Editors—man and woman—one in purpose and one in will, and comrades in work, should be the double centre of this world-wide fellowship which is open to all women and all men who are quickened by the new spirit. We shall look to you to tell us of books which uphold life principles, of teachers who can warn against negation and death, of artists who show forth the joy of youth and the clean strength which is the possession of young man and maid. We shall look to you for the straight practical word on politics, for the stern word for all wrongs and for the tender word for all sorrow, and above all we shall look to you for that rarest chivalry which is self-forgetting enough not merely to succour all distressed and downtrodden ones, but to give them the power to help themselves, to set themselves free.—In great faith for the future,

MARY NEAL.

21, Somerset Terrace, W.

We give the following extracts from letters received on the subject of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship:—

I must repeat the congratulations I feel bound to send from time to time on all you have done and are doing for women. You may be interested a little to know that I have carried out very successfully my expedition of 1912 to the Seachen Glacier, the longest and largest in Asia, and have explored it and had it mapped in entirely under my own eye. In the face of many obstacles, such as extreme cold, enormous transport difficulties, &c., I first set foot on the Seachen water parting and established its relation to Chinese Turkestan. I also discovered various other points of geographical importance, and my new map is eagerly awaited by the Survey of India. I do not expect the work to which I have applied all my waning energies to be appreciated by present-day geographers, but that does not matter. In the future, when I am forgotten, the work will stand and be found good, I think. I have done what I could in my line for some years to help along the world's work.—(Mrs. B. W., writing from Bombay.)

I would very much like to become a member of your VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. I have not very much spare time, but would be glad if I could be of help in any way by calling on newsagents in the immediate neighbourhood and trying to induce them to show your posters and to have copies for sale of the paper.—(E. Y.)

May I join your VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship? As I am a very busy teacher, all I can offer to do is to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN on Friday evenings from 5 to 6.30.—(H. T.)

I have considered the various ways of helping the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship given in this week's VOTES FOR WOMEN. Nos. 1, 5 and 9 are the ways in which I can offer help, and I will do all I can in these directions. I will also send a small monthly subscription.—(L. E. S.)

I enclose a cheque, and please consider me a member of the Fellowship. I will help in the ways enumerated in clauses 2, 3 and 10 at present, and perhaps in more ways later on when the Fellowship has had a good start.

I have arranged with a local firm for the weekly hanging of any posters you may send to me. About other work I will write you in a few days. Our newsagent here has agreed to expose a bill of contents of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Would you please send us one?—(J. W. B.)

I wish to join your Fellowship. As a W.S.P.U. member for nearly four years, I have bought and distributed for a long time about a dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN weekly, and I hope to continue to do so. 5s. enclosed for Poster Fund.—(C. J. F.)

IF WOMEN HAD THE VOTE!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—On April 26 of this year, at the Old Bailey, Judge Coleridge, as your correspondent remarks, "made acid by the law," had before him an ex-policeman who had outraged a baby six months old and her brother of eight. The Judge, considering the man's drunkenness, gave him but one year, which meant nine months on remission.

In California, where I have my vote, the women of the Friday Club would have talked, as they say, "Some" to the Judge. I love my England, but feel like a bird in a cage after the freedom of thought and recognition of companionship and comradeship from men in the States. We are too small here for recognition of the mighty wave after wave of Divine spirit which spells Liberty, not License.

FLORA AMES.

TO OUR READERS

We are informed that some difficulty has been experienced in one or two quarters in obtain VOTES FOR WOMEN. We hope that where such cases occur our readers will at once communicate with the Publishers, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4—7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

AN INTERNATIONAL FAIR

The fair being held by the Women's Freedom League in Chelsea Town Hall this week promises to be both artistic and full of meaning for suffragists. The idea of internationalism will be carried out in the arrangement of the stalls, which will radiate from one representing England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, will represent first the countries and states where women are enfranchised, and outside these the unenfranchised countries. The Men's League for Women's Suffrage will represent the Isle of Man. The international idea will be further carried out in dances of the various nations by trained exponents under Miss Ruby Ginner, and there will be various entertainments under the direction of the Actresses' Franchise League, Miss Edith Craig, and others.

Miss Edith Clegg gave an interesting recital of songs by living composers at the Bechstein Hall on Tuesday last. She possesses a fine contralto voice and a good deal of dramatic power. The group of French songs, notably "Chanson de route" and "Il était un p'tit oiseau," seemed to suit her best.

Miss Barbara Wylie, says the *Ottawa Free Press*, had an excellent hearing in St. Patrick's Hall, Ottawa, on October 30, from an audience of about 1,000 people.

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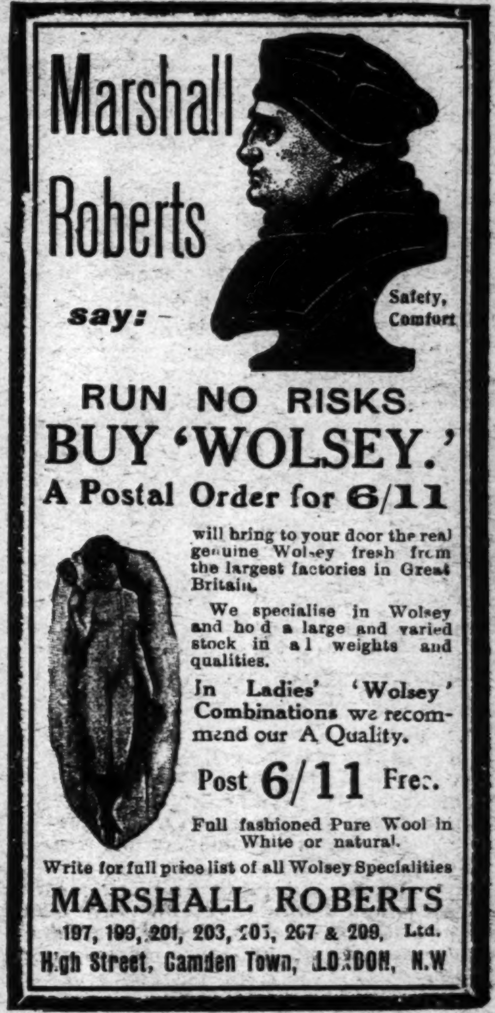

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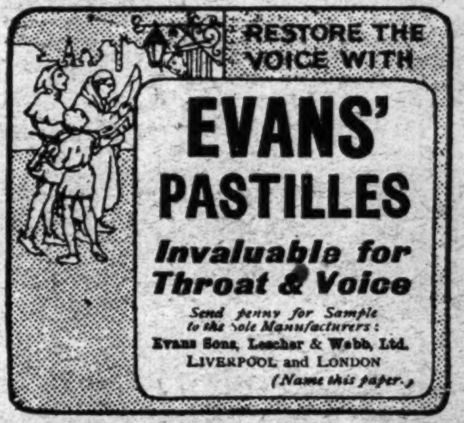

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SUFFRAGISTS IN THE EAST END

Judging by the success of the Suffrage demonstration in Victoria Park last Sunday, the workers of London have no difficulty in recognising the connection between their economic position and the woman's vote. From fourteen platforms a strong resolution was passed, in most cases unanimouslv, demanding the rejection of the Reform Bill unless it includes provisions for securing votes for women on equal terms with men. A crowd estimated at 10,000 stood for a whole hour, in spite of the wind and rain, and listened with the utmost interest and attention except round a men's platform, where the speakers had to submit to some interruption, mainly because the audience most unreasonably expected them to be women! Even here, however, quiet was restored on the reading of a letter from Mr. Lansbury wishing success to the demonstration and regretting his inability to be present. The Welsh platform, with its speakers in Welsh costume and its flags flying the red dragon, and the Irish platform with its green and yellow banners were especially popular. The Actresses' Franchise League, the New Constitutional Society, and the two Labour organisations, the B.S.P. and L.R.C., were also represented on platforms decorated with their different colours. The prevailing colours were, of course, the militant purple, white, and green, which were flying from all the W.S.P.U. platforms and from the flagstaff in the middle of the great open space; and in addition there were the red caps of liberty carried aloft on long poles, making altogether a brave display of colour against the grey sky that will not be forgotten in that grey part of London for many a long day.

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MRS. LAWRENCE AT KNEBWORTH

A correspondent writes: A crowded meeting listened to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's delightful speech at Knebworth on November 7. Many were deeply impressed, and the Suffrage workers in the neighbourhood are exceedingly grateful to Mrs. Lawrence, and to the Rev. Hugh Chapman for coming amongst them. Lady Constance Lytton wishes to thank all the kind helpers who worked so enthusiastically to advertise the meeting.

◆

NEW JEWISH LEAGUE

We give a hearty welcome to the latest suffrage society to join the ranks—the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage. It is a non-political organisation formed to demand the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men. It will carry on propaganda on educational lines parallel with those of the existing Church, Catholic, Free Church and Friends' League. It will emphasise the need for woman's emancipation to secure the effective co-operation of men and women in combating social evils, and will further the improvement of the status of woman in the community and the State, and the more active participation of the Synagogue in the social movements of the day.

All Jewish men and women who are in sympathy with the objects are invited to become members on payment of a minimum subscription of 3d., and are requested to communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Miss Ruth Franklin, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W., or with the Rev. Dr. J. Hochman, 7, Moscow Court, W., while those who wish to subscribe to the funds are asked to send donations to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Herbert Cohen, 2, Orme Court, W.

◆

We have received from Messrs. John Knight, Ltd., an atlas, desk companion and blotter, containing a series of up-to-date maps and much useful information. It is obtainable from grocers and stores dealing with the firm at 1s., or direct from the Messrs. Knight post free for 1s. 3d.

MR. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN WALES

A short tour of meetings was successfully carried out last week by Mr. Pethick Lawrence in Monmouthshire and South Wales. On Wednesday afternoon an audience of several hundred people were gathered together in the Temperance Hall, Newport. Mr. Lawrence dealt with the vote on Mr. Snowden's amendment in the House of Commons, and defended the militant agitation.

On the same evening Mr. Lawrence spoke in St. James' Hall, Pontypool, under the chairmanship of Mrs. D. A. Thomas.

On Thursday evening a magnificent meeting was held in the St. Mary's Hall at Barry, and great enthusiasm was displayed. Mr. Henson was in the chair. References to the causes which led up to the stone throwing incident of last March were received with cries of "Shame!" and many people said afterwards that their previous doubts about militancy had been completely dispelled.

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COMING EVENTS

Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak in Bow and Bromley on Monday next. He will address a meeting of the M.P.U. at Leeds next Tuesday, November 19, and will also speak at Bournemouth on Tuesday, December 3, and at Halifax on Friday, December 6.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak in Bow on Tuesday next, November 19. She will address a meeting of the West Essex Franchise Society at Chigwell on November 27. On December 3 and 4 she will be in Scotland, on the former date the meeting will be an afternoon one for working women, and on the latter date she will address an evening meeting of the Edinburgh University Suffrage Society in the large hall of the University; on December 10 she will speak at Ilkeston.

Mrs. Mansell-Moullin, vice-president of the Cymric Suffrage Union, will address meetings at Carwen, Bala, Llanwellyn, and Festiniog during the next few days.

The reception to Mrs. Cecil Chapman and the Marchers next Monday, November 18, promises to be of special interest. Tickets at the New Constitutional Society's Office, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. At the next office at-home on Tuesday, November 19, Mr. H. E. Crawford will speak and Miss H. E. Sheppard will be hostess. A dance, in aid of the funds of the Society, will be held at 2, the Boltons, on November 28, at 9 o'clock, by kind permission of Mrs. Kerr. Pianist, Archibald Joyce. Tickets, 5s. 6d., can be obtained from Mrs. Kerr, 2, The Boltons. Lady Willoughby de Broke will open a Christmas Sale on December 3. In addition to the usual Christmas card and fancy stalls, it is proposed to have a country produce stall. Country members are urged to send contributions.

A very attractive programme has been arranged for the Actresses' Franchise League matinée at the Lyceum Theatre on Friday, November 29, at 2.30. The star cast for the "First Actress" includes Miss Gertie Millar, Miss Henrietta Watson, Miss Evelyn d'Alroy, Miss Nora Lancaster, and Miss Gertrude Kingston. Tickets are on sale at the offices of the League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi.

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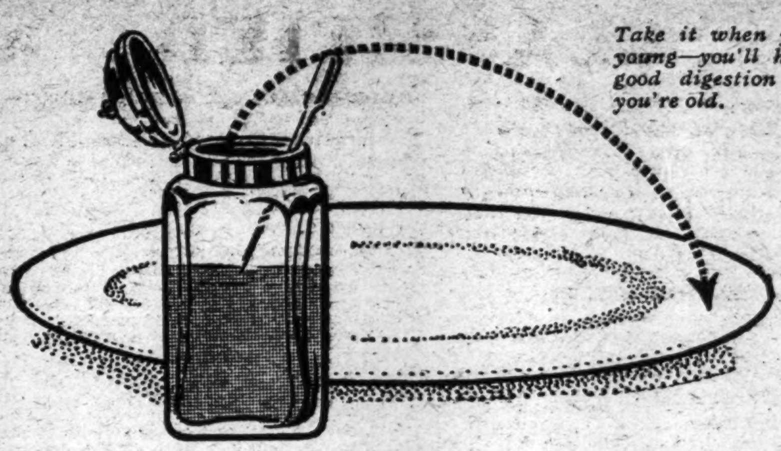
We have received a dainty coloured booklet of designs for fancy dresses to be worn at the Christmas Pantomime Ball to be given at the Albert Hall in aid of University College Hospital, on December 4. The feature of the ball will be a series of processions representing the fairy stories upon which Christmas pantomimes and other plays have been founded. The carrying out of the costumes is in the hands of Messrs. Debenham and Freebody, who will, on being applied to, supply the book of designs.



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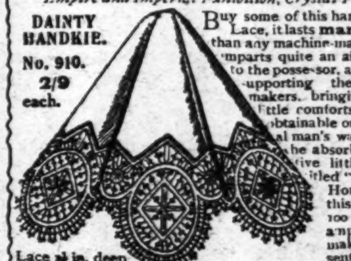

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in every shape—in the particular shape *you* select to wear—that is the main point about PESCO Underwear for you.

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For this reason of reliability PESCO is popular at home and abroad—for this reason PESCO is sold by all good drapers—for this reason we ask you to personally experiment with PESCO Underwear *now.*

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager. VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension, 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

AT 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park, superior Board-residence from 21s.; ideal house, position, private gardens, close Queen's Road Tube; comfort, cleanliness, quiet, excellent cuisine.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms from 25s. to 35s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key, proprietress (W.S.P.U.).

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—10min. from University and British Museum. Bed-sitting rooms with breakfast, also partial board; moderate; pleasant house.—31, Oakley Square, N.W.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 19s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

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SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

3, GLOUCESTER ROAD, REGENT'S Park, N.W.—Furnished Apartments or Board-residence; 1d. 'bus from Oxford Circus; 'bus, tube, convenient to all parts.

29 AND 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.—High-class boarding establishment, terms from 35s. weekly; 6s. per day; heated throughout hot water system.—Proprietress.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, 25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead. (Tel., 653 P.O., Hampstead.) Very comfortable rooms, from 28s. weekly, including breakfast and dinner, all meals Sunday; one or two small rooms at 22s. 6d.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 41, Heath Drive, Gidea Park, Romford.

EASTBOURNE.—Furnished Flat to Let during winter; 3 bedrooms, 2 sitting, bath, kitchen, electric light; 2½ guineas weekly.—E. D., 33, Gildridge Road.

FLAT TO LET.—Furnished or Unfurnished; 3 rooms, one fitted out as kitchen, water and gas stove.—Apply, 133, Clapham Road, London, S.W.

HINDHEAD.—Lady's Well-Furnished Cottage to Let for 3 or 4 weeks from December 30; 3 bedrooms, 2 sitting-rooms; 30s. weekly.—Miss Lowe, St. Edmund's Cottage, Grayshott, Haslemere.

LARGE PRIVATE STUDIO to Let, for At Homes, Musicales, Meetings, and Exhibitions; fine piano; South Kensington district; terms moderate.—Apply, Lem, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

NORFOLK.—To Let, furnished, till end of April, pretty Cottage; detached; 2 reception, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, scullery; small garden; close to sea; near golf links; rent, 25s. per week.—Wynnson, East Runton, Cromer.

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£230 (all at) is the exceptionally low price asked for a well-furnished Boarding House in a most accessible position, Hyde Park district; dining, drawing, lounge, 8 letting bedrooms, bath, &c; Every room let; takings about £15 per week; 13 years' lease at £120 per annum.—Apply, Penman and Co., 104a, Guilford Street, W.C. W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

ELOCUTION.—Advertiser, a well-known Teacher and Reciter, desires a few additional Pupils at her West End studio. Voice Culture, Public Speaking, Physical Culture. Nervous defects in speech and education corrected. Special terms to W.S.P.U. members. Address, Box 182, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Freet Street, E.C.

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LADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of Postal Tuition; writing, general knowledge, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill.

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THE HARMONIAL CENTRE, 133, Blythe Road, Kensington. Five minutes Hammersmith Broadway. Ten minutes Shepherd's Bush, L.S.W. Lectures and Lessons on the Attainment of Health and Happiness through Practical Metaphysics. Opening service, Nov. 3, 7 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Hylda Ball. Lectures, Mondays and Fridays at 8 p.m.

THE LITTLE SALON SOCIAL LITERARY MEETINGS reassemble shortly. For Membership, write L. Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

TRAINING FOR HOME OR COLONIAL FARMING. Pupils received for dairy, poultry, and general farming; Chiltern Hills, 100 acres; write prospectus.—Kate Lelacheur, Checkendon, Reading.

TWELVE Postal Lessons in English Composition, 12s. 6d. Letter-writing (business, friendly), article-construction, grammar, thought-sequence, punctuation, style; prospectus, stamped envelope.—Prof. Harris-Bickford, St. Day, Scorrier. (Name journal.)

BUSINESS, Etc.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

REMOVING and WAREHOUSING.—Ask for free advice and estimate, the London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C. Telephone, Gerrard 9188. Extensive Warehouses, Dry Rooms; low rates; established 1843.

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MEMBER desires to recommend Shorthand-Typist for business firm, office, or club.—Sellers, 12, Monmouth Road, Bayswater.

MEMBER W.S.P.U. Ex-Prisoner, seeks Employment; housekeeper or any position of trust; capable and willing, good references given.—S., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

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TO COLONISTS.—Vacancy for Working Learner in Dairy and Cow Byres during winter months; also one similar vacancy on Poultry Farm.—Lovegrove's, Checkendon, Reading.

GARDENING.

ALPINE and EDGING PLANTS for Rock Garden or Moraine; strong plants; moderate prices; lists on application.—The Misses Evans, F.R.H.S., The Vale House, Stamford.

AN EDUCATED GIRL (18 to 25) received at charming country house about 20 miles from London, to learn Gardening; would suit delicate girl needing healthy out-door life, or would be useful to one going later to hirticultural college; would receive thorough practical training from experienced lady gardener. Terms £2 2s. weekly.—Write (in first instance) to Mrs. Richmond, 25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead.

GARDEN ORNAMENTS in Stone, Lead, and Imitation Stone, both old and new; Shakespeare's "Puck," original design, Studios and Garden.—Wheaton, 36, Maxwell Road, Fulham.

HELEN COLT, the Specialist in Town and Suburban Gardening.—Regular care of gardens undertaken, also roof and window gardens attractively arranged. Advisory work in town and country.—3, Temple Fortune Lane, Hampstead Garden Suburb. Telephone, Finchley 1262.

TO LADY FLORISTS.—Small Nursery, with 4 glass houses. Newley built 6 roomed cottage and about ¾ of an acre of ground. Station 5 minutes, 7 miles from London; lease 21 years; rent £55, premium £75.—Apply, G. M. F., Chestnuts, Wembley, Middlesex.

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ARTISTIC MILLINERY.—Marie Rochford, 34, Baker Street, W., makes smart and artistic hats and toques at moderate charges; comfort and lightness studied; renovations a speciality.

A SUFFRAGETTE WRITES US:—"The coat you made me is splendid. It has stood the strain of a London struggle." The reason is, all our garments are absolutely tailor-made (measure only). Beautiful Winter Coats, from 30s.; Costumes, 31s. 6d., 35s., 42s.; Fashionable Skirts, from 8s. 6d.; patterns, particulars free.—Rawding, Ladies' Tailors, Retford.

MAISON Rémond, Ladies' Tailors, 11, Pollen Street, Hanover Square, W. Recommends his latest Paris styles in costumes from £3 up. Remodelling of old costumes for moderate charges. Send a card for his Paris models and patterns.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's).

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein Avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 494 Chiswick.

NEW UNSOLICITED TESTIMONIALS.

"Portman Square, March 14, 1912.

"The Baroness is very pleased with the way you are doing and getting up the linen."

"Kensington, October 14, 1912.

"Your work has given the greatest satisfaction."

"Eaton Terrace, S.W., September 22, 1912.

"Your laundry has always given satisfaction, and we are glad to continue to deal with it."

Originals forwarded if required.

WASHING by experienced Laundress (hand); satisfaction guaranteed.—Emily Gould, Rosemont Laundry, 83, Mill Hill Road, Acton.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 54, Devonshire Street, Gt. Portland Street, W.

MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

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WHY Keep Useless Jewellery? The large London market enables Robinson Brothers, of 5, Hampstead Road, London, W., and 127, Fenchurch Street, E.C., to give the best prices for Gold, Silver, Platinum, Diamonds, Pearls, Emeralds, Silver Plate, Antiqnes, Old Teeth, &c., in any form, condition, or quantity; licensed valuers and appraisers. Telephone: 2036 North. All parcels offer or cash by return of post.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s., and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

HELP those who help you. Give the Fisherman a chance. Fish, just caught, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; dressed, carriage paid, by return.—Fishermen's Syndicate, 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

POULTRY.—Splendid Hen Turkeys, 5s. 6d. to 6s. each; best fatted geese, 4s. 6d. each; fine roasting fowls and fat ducks, 4s. 6d. pair; boiling fowls, 4s. pair; trussed, post paid.—Mrs. Cullinane, Poultry Farm, Rosscarbery, Cork.

POULTRY and GAME BARGAINS.—

2 Choice Young Pheasants	4s. 6d.
3 Fat Plover and 2 Teal	4s. 6d.
1 Fat Wild Duck and 2 Partridges	4s. 6d.
1 English Chicken and 2 Teal	5s.
6 Fat Snipe and 1 Grouse	5s.
1 English Chicken and 1 Fat Wild Duck	5s.
6 Fat Snipe and 1 Pheasant	5s. 6d.
3 Fat Teal and 1 Young Pheasant	5s. 6d.
Choice English Turkeys from	5s. 6d.

SHAW and SON, POULTRY SPECIALISTS,
80, MARCHMONT STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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CULTO CULTO CULTO

For Three Penny Stamps we post you sufficient Japanese "Unrivalled" Finger Nail Polish to last two months. Please give us a trial. You will never regret it.—It is hygienic and necessary for anyone who has the least pretension to good taste and cultured hands. USED BY ROYALTY. Only "CULTO" and your two hands necessary. We want every commoner to try it.—BELVOIR AND CO., 1, NEW SOUTHGATE, N.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ATHEENIC UNDERWEAR, Soft and Fleecy, yet guaranteed Unshrinkable. We offer far greater choice of quality and size than shops. Write for patterns direct to Dept. S., Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

A SYMPATHISER has Nightdresses for disposal. Nainsook, 2s. 11d. each; Longcloth, 3s. 9d.; White Flannelette, 4s. 6d.; all nicely trimmed; unworn; approval.—Mrs. Burley, 157, Strand, London.

BLUTHNER PIANO, like new; great bargain; also Baby Grand, Antique Banjo. 2 good pier glasses; all cheap, room wanted.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

CORSETS.—New form, low top, long over hips, from 12s. 6d.; personal attention.—Madame Emilie, 16 and 17, Burlington Arcade, W.

DRINK SALUTARIS. Health-giving Table Water. Distilled. Absolutely pure and free from all microbes; Aerated or Still. Unrivalled for gout and rheumatism. Ask your grocer or write Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advert.).

HAIR FALLING OFF.—Lady who lost nearly all hers, and has now strong, heavy growth, sends particulars to anyone enclosing stamped addressed envelope.—Miss V. W. Field, Glendower, Shanklin.

KNITTED CORSETS.—New invention, unbreakable. Lists free.—Write, Knitted Corset Co., Nottingham.

LADY, qualified Cook, Member W.S.P.U., wants orders for home-made cakes; prices forwarded on application.—V. Bullock, Jesus Lane, Cambridge.

OLD FALSE TEETH.—We give highest possible prices for above. Offers made; if unaccepted, teeth returned. Dealers in old gold or silver in any form. Bankers' references. Straightforward dealing.—Woodfall and Company, Southport.

PEACH'S CURTAINS.—Autumn Window Drapery. Loom Prices. Ask for Catalogue No. 271. Over 600 Illustrations. Free. Serges, Tapestries, Cretonnes, Casement Cloths, Muslins, Roller Blinds. Samples Free. Laces, Hosiery, Linens.—Saml. Peach and Sons, The Looms, Nottingham.

PEKINESE.—Beautiful Brood Bitch, by Wee Wong; 16 months, splendid mother, owner giving up, black muzzle, affectionate, moderate price.—Bousfield, 4, Whitgift Parade, Croydon.

SUFFRAGETTE TEAS and COCOA, owned and sold by women only; agents wanted where unrepresented; samples and terms sent on application; samples free to Suffragettes.—Apply, Suffragette Tea Co., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C.

THE WOMEN'S TEA CO., 9, Mincing Lane, E.C. (Gibbons Sisters), are prepared to send to all Bazaars, Meetings, or Suffragette Shops tea, coffee, cocoa, chocolates, on sale or return.

TYPEWRITING and TRANSLATIONS.—Literary and Dramatic work a speciality. Best work. Special terms to members W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Marks, The Moorgate Typewriting Co., 63, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. Tel.: 5638 London Wall.

TYPEWRITERS.—Remingtons, Nos. 7 and 8, late models, in new and perfect condition, £5 each.—Miss D., 58, Tulsemere Road, W. Norwood, S.E.

WANTED, ladies' left-off costumes, blouses, &c. Best value given for all parcels received.—Miss Tolkein, Dress Exchange, 1, Station Buildings, West Croydon.

WONDERFUL Handkerchief Bargain! —Ladies' fine Irish Linen Handkerchiefs, only 1s. per half dozen; or with any initial, beautifully worked, 1s. 3d. per half dozen; postage 3d.—Write, Hutton's, 167, Larne, Ireland.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS

A specially low rate is charged for the announcement of all women suffrage meetings. Single insertion 1s. for 18 words or less, and ½d. for each additional word.

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

ST. MARK'S HALL, WICK LANE, VICTORIA PARK.—Monday, November 18, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and others.

WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.—Tunbridge Wells, The Great Hall, Monday, November 18, at 8 p.m. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

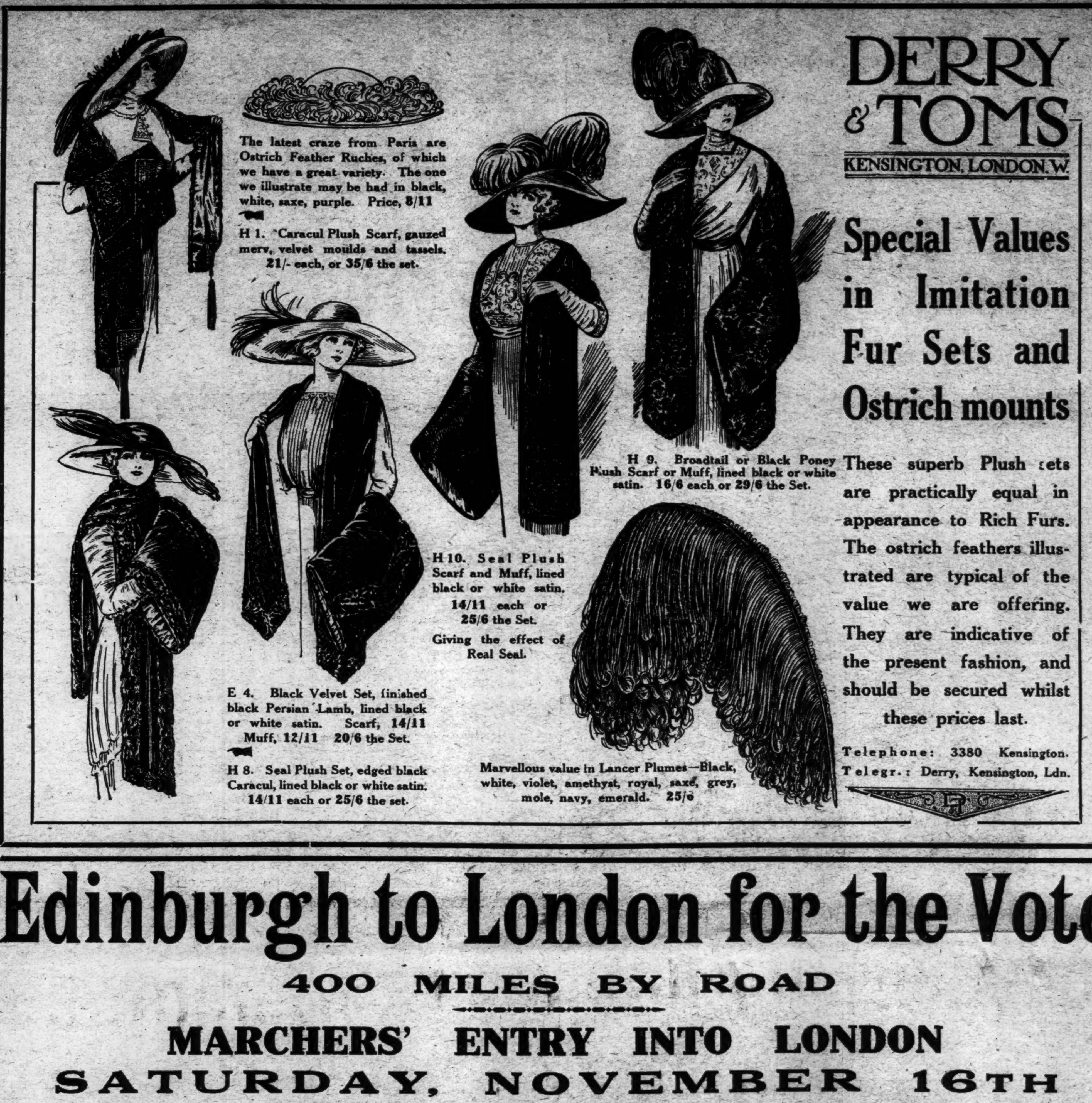
NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY.—Reception to Mrs. Chapman and Marchers, 11, Chandos Street, W., November 18, 8.45. Tickets, 2s. 6d.—Apply, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.—Philosophical Hall, Leeds, Tuesday, November 19, at 8 p.m.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.—Caxton Hall, Wednesday, November 20, at 3.30. Admission free.

PADDINGTON W.S.P.U.—East End Women's Meeting, November 28, at 2.45, 185, East India Dock Road. Miss Evelyn Sharp.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.—Matinée, Lyceum Theatre, November 28, 2.30. Tickets, ordinary prices.—Apply, 2 Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.



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Special Values in Imitation Fur Sets and Ostrich mounts

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Telephone: 3380 Kensington.
Telegr.: Derry, Kensington, Ldn.

The latest craze from Paris are Ostrich Feather Ruches, of which we have a great variety. The one we illustrate may be had in black, white, saxe, purple. Price, 8/11

H 1. Caracul Plush Scarf, gauzed merv, velvet moulds and tassels. 21/- each, or 35/6 the set.

H 9. Broadtail or Black Poney Plush Scarf or Muff, lined black or white satin. 16/6 each or 29/6 the Set.

H 10. Seal Plush Scarf and Muff, lined black or white satin. 14/11 each or 25/6 the Set. Giving the effect of Real Seal.

E 4. Black Velvet Set, finished black Persian Lamb, lined black or white satin. Scarf, 14/11 Muff, 12/11 20/6 the Set.

H 8. Seal Plush Set, edged black Caracul, lined black or white satin. 14/11 each or 25/6 the set.

Marvellous value in Lancer Plumes—Black, white, violet, amethyst, royal, saxe, grey, mole, navy, emerald. 25/6

Edinburgh to London for the Vote

400 MILES BY ROAD

MARCHERS' ENTRY INTO LONDON

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH

Motto: "Co-operation and Good-Will."

Marchers, Uniform—Brown dresses and hats, with green cockades.

Leave Tally-Ho Corner, North Finchley, 11 a.m.; form up 10.30.

Arrive Highgate Station, 12 noon.

Halt One Hour for Lunch.

Leave Highgate Station, 1 p.m.

Arrive Camden Town Tube Station about 2 p.m.

Halt and receive London Petitions.

Arrive Trafalgar Square about 2.30 p.m.

Route of March from Tally-Ho Corner, North Finchley, will be via:

GREAT NORTH ROAD,
HIGHGATE STATION,
ARCHWAY TAVERN,
JUNCTION ROAD,
KENTISH TOWN ROAD (over Canal Bridge),

CAMDEN TOWN TUBE STATION.

HAMPSTEAD ROAD,
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD,
CHARING CROSS ROAD,
TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

All Societies and their Branches are cordially invited to attend at the rallying point, Camden Town Tube Station, at 1.30 sharp, and to bring their Banners (which may previously be sent to Messrs. Frederick Horn and Sons, Furnishers, 176, High Street, Camden Town, adjoining Tube Station, own Group Captains, and signed Petitions, which must be delivered up to the London Petition Secretary outside the station), and there await arrival of Marchers. Form up in the following order:—

Special Banner to be carried by Members of Men's League.

BAND No. 1.

SECTION I.

Women's Freedom League.
The New Constitutional Society.
Church League for Women's Suffrage.
Actresses' Franchise League.
The London Society for Women's Suffrage.

BAND No. 2.

SECTION II.

London Branches W.S.P.U.
Clerks' W.S.P.U.
The London Graduates' Union.
The Tax Resistance League.

SECTION III.

The Artists' Suffrage League.
The Suffrage Atelier.
The Women Writers' Suffrage League.
The Political Reform League.
The Cymric Suffrage Union.

SECTION IV.

The Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.
The Irish Women's Suffrage Society.
The Fabian Group of Women.
The Free Church League.
Hampstead Garden Suburb.
Women Sympathisers and Friends.

SECTION V.

The Men's League for Women's Suffrage.
The Men's Political Union.
The Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.
The Men's Committee for Justice to Women.

On the arrival of the Marchers at Camden Town Tube Station, the Procession will be led off by the Special Banner, followed by the first band, after which will come the Marchers, followed by all the Societies in the order above named.

MEETING IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE, 2.45.

The speakers will include:—

MRS. DE FONBLANQUE (Leader of the March),
MRS. DESPARD,
MRS. CAVENDISH BENTINCK,
MISS SARAH BENETT,
MISS MARGARET BYHAM,
MISS ANNIE ROFF,
MRS. FINLAYSON GAULD,
MISS ANNA MUNRO,
PROFESSOR BICKERTON,
REV. CLAUDE HINSCLIFFE,
MALCOLM MITCHELL, Esq.
REGINALD POTT, Esq.
JOHN SIMPSON, Esq.
VICTOR DUVAL, Esq.
C. GRAY, Esq.
C. SHAW, Esq.
and
B. FURNISS, Esq.

Chair:—
MRS. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT.

The Resolution will be put at 4 p.m.

RESOLUTION:—

"This Meeting prays that the Government will bring in a Bill giving Votes to Women this Session."

After the Meeting the Petition will be taken by Mrs. de Fonblanque and Miss Margaret Byham to the Premier's official residence, 10, Downing Street.

Come in your thousands to support the Petition and the Great Peaceful Protest of the Edinburgh Marchers against the passing of any Reform Bill that does not include women!

Offers of subscriptions and help to be addressed to Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood.

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